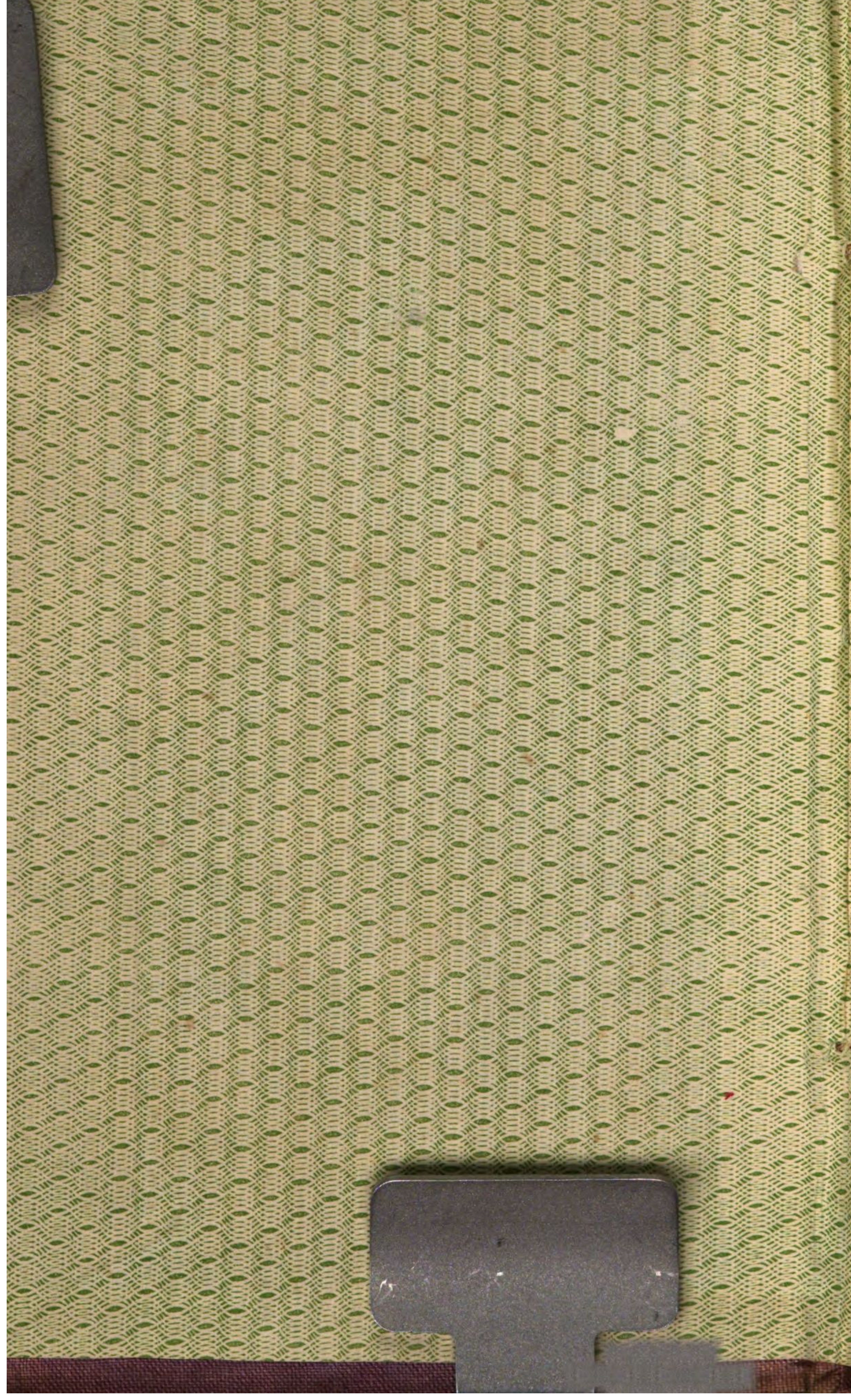




<36619997250016

<36619997250016

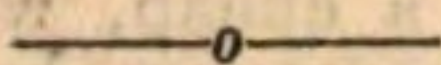
Bayer. Staatsbibliothek

David Hume

Brit.
303 f

Brit. 303 f-16

COMPLETION OF VALPY'S SHAKSPEARE.



In 15 Volumes, 5s. each, uniformly with BYRON, POPE, and
VALPY'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

THE

PLAYS AND POEMS OF SHAKSPEARE;

WITH A LIFE, GLOSSARIAL NOTES,

AND ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY ILLUSTRATIONS
FROM THE PLATES IN BOYDELL'S EDITION;

EDITED BY A. J. VALPY, M.A., LATE FELLOW OF PEMB. COLL., OXFORD.

This edition, which has experienced the most favorable reception during the course of publication, may now be had complete, in fifteen volumes, price £3. 15s.—The Plates may be purchased separately in one volume, handsomely bound for the Drawing-Room, or for illustrating other editions, £1. 11s. 6d. Single engravings at 1s. each.

The distinguishing features of this edition are—the text of MALONE; GLOSSARIAL NOTES on all obsolete words; and an HISTORICAL DIGEST and ARGUMENT prefixed to each Play.

The work is embellished with ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY ILLUSTRATIONS, executed on steel in the first style of outline engraving, from the Plates in BOYDELL'S SHAKSPEARE, originally published at £95, and large paper at £190.

The attention of the youthful reader is directed to the most striking and brilliant passages by the INDEX, which forms a complete reference to the BEAUTIES OF SHAKSPEARE.

For the accommodation of NEW SUBSCRIBERS, the Publisher will deliver the work monthly, commencing at any time with the first volume.

OPINIONS.

‘It is our duty to join the voice of the public press, which is unanimous in commendation of this most useful and elegant edition. Nothing evinces more pointedly the high refinement to which civilisation has attained amongst us, than the production

of a work like this. As a cheap, well printed, and elegantly illustrated edition, the present one has no other that can come in competition with it. The succinct yet appropriate remarks that preface each play, add greatly to the value of the publication. The greatest praise that we can give to the now completed undertaking, is to say, that the most popular of our poets is produced to the world in a manner that is likely to become most popular.'—*Metropolitan Magazine*.

'Among the numerous editions of celebrated authors which have lately been introduced to the public in an illustrated form, we know of none more deserving, or likely to become popular, than the one before us. Though all Boydell's plates are not equally excellent, nevertheless the effect is almost invariably good. The typography is so beautiful, and the paper and manner of getting up so excellent, that this must be considered the cheapest and best edition of the bard of Avon extant. These united claims to patronage cannot be resisted; and we are certain that the work will find its way into the boudoir of every lady, and the library of every gentleman; at least, if it does not, it ought.'—*Monthly Magazine*.

'An admirable idea, and capitally put in execution. The outline engravings abound, and are excellently done; type good, size convenient, price next to nothing, the subject 'Shakspeare.' If this combination do not attract, there is neither taste nor patriotism in England.'—*United Service Journal*.

'The typography is neat and clear; and the text we assume to be correct, from the name of the editor.'—*Spectator*.

'The publications which it becomes a duty to remark on, are those periodical works which form a new feature of the national literature, and which really and truly deserve the patronage which we are happy to say we believe them generally to obtain. One of the most valuable of these works is Mr. Valpy's beautiful edition of the Plays and Poems of Shakspeare, illustrated with elegant and graceful outlines from the best and most celebrated pictures, which were originally engraved for Boydell's expensive work—amounting to 170 in number.'—*John Bull*.

'This bold speculation has succeeded, and the sale of the work is already as extensive as the proprietor could have hoped for. It is, indeed, a beautiful work.'—*Athenæum*.

'Mr. Valpy has conferred a great benefit on the public by this cheap and graceful edition of the works of the 'world's first wit.' Of the style in which it is got up, we cannot speak too warmly. Its mechanical department, such as paper, print, &c., is perfect, and the addition of Boydell's well-known embellishments renders it the most finished work of the sort we have.'—*Sun*.

COMPLETION OF
VALPY'S FAMILY CLASSICAL LIBRARY,
COMPRISING
ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS
OF THE MOST VALUABLE
GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS;

WITH
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, PORTRAITS, MAPS, NOTES, &c.

EDITED BY A. J. VALPY, M.A., LATE FELLOW OF PEMB. COLL., OXFORD.

'If you desire your son, though no great scholar, to read and reflect, it is your duty to place into his hands the best Translations of the best *Classical* Authors.'—DR. PARR.

The Series may now be had complete in fifty-two volumes, price 4s. 6d. each, bound in cloth; or any Author may be purchased *separately*.

This UNIFORM SERIES of ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS of the most esteemed AUTHORS of GREECE and ROME must prove a valuable acquisition to those who possess not the means or leisure for pursuing a regular course of study; and as the learned languages do not form a part of the education of Females, the only access which they have to the valuable stores of antiquity is through the medium of correct translation.

The Selection includes those Authors only, whose works may be read *by the youth of both sexes*.

Copies of each Author are kept elegantly bound for prizes and presents.

DEMOSTHENES. LELAND. 1.

Completion of Do.; and SALLUST, by ROSE. 2.

XENOPHON'S ANABASIS and CYROPÆDIA, by SPELMAN and COOPER. 3, 4.

HERODOTUS. BELOE. 5—7.

VIRGIL, by WRANGHAM, SOTHEY, and DRYDEN. 8, 9.

PINDAR; a new Translation, by WHEELWRIGHT. With
ANACREON; a new Translation, by BOURNE. 10.

TACITUS. MURPHY. 11—15.

- THEOPHRASTUS; with 50 Characteristic Engravings. 16.
 HORACE and PHÆDRUS. 17, 18.
 JUVENAL, by Dr. BADHAM; and PERSIUS, by Sir W. DRUMMOND. 19.
 THUCYDIDES. SMITH. 20—22.
 PLUTARCH'S LIVES; with Engravings. 23—29.
 HESIOD, by C. ELTON, Esq.; also the CASSANDRA of LYCOPHRON, by Lord ROYSTON; with BION, MOSCHUS, MUSÆUS, and SAPPHO. 30.
 CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES. 31, 32.
 SOPHOCLES. FRANCKLIN. 33.
 EURIPIDES. POTTER. 34—36.
 HOMER. POPE. 37—39.
 OVID'S METAMORPHOSES and EPISTLES, by DRYDEN, POPE, ADDISON, and others. 40, 41.
 CICERO'S ORATIONS, by DUNCAN. 42, 43.
 CICERO'S OFFICES, by COCKMAN; with Treatises on OLD AGE and FRIENDSHIP, by MELMOTH. 44.
 ÆSCHYLUS. POTTER. 45.
 LIVY. 46—52.

* * The 21 Portraits may be had separately from the work for £1. 5s., or any single Portrait, 1s. 6d.

The Publisher will, if desired, deliver one or more volumes monthly, price 4s. 6d. each, commencing with the first volume.

OPINIONS OF THE WORK.

‘A more important or interesting accession than this Library to our national literature has not taken place in modern times. No serious or well-arranged plan has been proposed, before this time, for placing the treasures of the classic writers in the hands of readers who were unacquainted with the original. All the intellectual splendors of Greece and Rome are opened to the contemplation of the gentler sex; and a lady can acknowledge an acquaintance with the treasures of ancient poetry without the smallest compromise of her delicacy.’—*Monthly Review*.

‘The efforts of this publisher in the cause of ancient literature are meeting with extensive encouragement, as well for his first project of introducing so long a list of Greek and Latin authors to the notice of the unlearned part of the community in a uniform series, as for the manner in which the promises of using every exertion to render his English Translations of the Classics universally acceptable, have been since redeemed.’—*New Monthly Magazine*.

‘This is a most important work, perhaps the most important of the long list which the public owe to the enterprise of Mr. Valpy. We should pity those families who have book-cases not enriched with the volumes of the Classical Library.’—*Atlas*.

THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

VOL. XVI.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

VOL. XXV



THE RIOT IN BROAD STREET, 1780.

Warren sculp.

Wheatley del.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

BY

BURN AND SHOLLETT,

WITH

A CONTINUATION

BY

THE REV. T. B. HUGHES, M. A.

VOL. XVI.



Death of Major Pierson

LONDON:

A. J. VALPY, M. A.

1835.



HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

BY

HUME AND SMOLLETT;

WITH

A CONTINUATION

BY

THE REV. T. S. HUGHES, B.D.

VOL. XVI.



Death of Major Pierson

L O N D O N :

A. J. VALPY, M. A.

1835.

THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

BY
THE REV. T. S. HUGHES, B.D.

FROM THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND IN 1760.

With Historical Illustrations and Portraits.

A.D. 1778 to A.D. 1785.

THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND
IN TEN VOLUMES

VOLUME THE SECOND
FROM THE DEATH OF KING JOHN TO THE DEATH OF KING EDWARD THE FIRST
BY
JAMES HANCOCK, ESQ.
OF THE BARR

THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FROM THE DEATH OF KING JOHN TO THE DEATH OF KING EDWARD THE FIRST. BY JAMES HANCOCK, ESQ. OF THE BARR.

IN TWO VOLUMES. THE SECOND VOLUME.

LONDON: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAULS CHURCH-YARD, 1794.

CONTENTS

OF THE

SIXTEENTH VOLUME.

CHAP. XX.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1778.

Effect of general Burgoyne's surrender on the court of France—Count de Vergennes, and Marie Antoinette—First French envoy sent to North America—American affairs in Paris—Hints of conciliatory measures by lord North—Mr. Fox's speech in the committee on the state of the nation—His motion rejected—Also that of the duke of Richmond—Mr. Burke's speech against the employment of Indians—Story of Miss Macrea—Governor Pownal's speech and humane proposal—Attempt of Mr. Fox to stop the sending of troops to America—Examination of evidence in the upper house—Lord North introduces his conciliatory bills—Debates on them—Intimation of the French treaty with America—Attempt to engage lord Chatham in the administration—Notification of the French treaty to parliament—Motion of an address thereon—Debates—Investigation of the state of the navy—Lord Sandwich severely attacked—Motion for excluding contractors from seats in parliament—Committee for the revision of the Irish trade laws—Opposition of the British merchants and manufacturers—Bill for the relief of Roman catholics—Motion of censure on lord George Germaine—Duke of Richmond's motion in the house of lords, and last reply of lord Chatham—His death, &c.—Supplies, &c. for 1778—Parliament rises—King's speech—Admiral Rodney—Military affairs in America—Manner in which notice of the conciliatory bills was received—Notification of the French treaty—Unfortunate action under La Fayette—Sir Henry Clinton takes the supreme command of the British army—Con-

duct of the British commissioners, and of congress—Evacuation of Philadelphia by the British troops—March towards New York—Affair of general Lee—His disgrace—Arrival of a French fleet on the shores of America under count d'Estaing—The British fleet protected in the harbor of New York—Combined attack of French and Americans on Rhode Island—Its failure—D'Estaing's conduct meets with disapprobation—Operations of the British army in the provinces of New York and New Jersey—Attack of the savages on the settlement of Wyoming under colonel Butler—Americans take revenge—The French envoy received at Philadelphia—Instructions sent to Franklin—French deprived of their fishery at Newfoundland—They capture Dominica; but lose St. Lucie—French plans regarding Canada counteracted by the prudence of Washington—Capture of Savannah by the British—Naval operations in the British channel—Affairs respecting admiral Keppel and Sir Hugh Palliser—Domestic matters page 1

CHAP. XXI.

Proceedings of parliament—Attacks on lord Sandwich—Motion respecting contractors—Motion for the removal of lord Sandwich—Investigation respecting the conduct of general and lord Howe, involving the conduct of ministers—Consideration of general Burgoyne's conduct—Riots in Scotland from apprehension of relief to papists—Lord Nugent's motion regarding the trade of Ireland—Relief defeated—Resolution of the Irish merchants—Armed associations in that country, and effects of them—Notice taken of them in the house of lords—Departure of the Spanish ambassador, &c.—Junction of French and Spanish fleets—Motions, &c. in parliament—Bill for the impressment of seamen—French and English fleets in the channel—Termination of the session—Supplies, &c.—Affairs in the West Indies—Loss of St. Vincent's and Grenada—Tobago saved—Naval action—D'Estaing's bad conduct—Seat of war transferred to the southern states—Operations in Georgia—D'Estaing arrives off the coast—Ineffectual attempt to reduce Savannah—D'Estaing returns to France—British incursions against Virginia—Capture of Stony Point and Verplanks—Fortification of West Point—Command

given to Arnold—Expedition against Connecticut—Stony Point retaken by general Wayne, but deserted at the approach of the British—British garrison surprised at Paulus Hook—American disaster at Penobscot—Sir George Collier resigns the naval command—Washington's policy—American retaliation on the Indians—Spain attacks West Florida and the British settlements on the Mississippi—She next attacks the logwood cutters in the bay of Honduras—Capture of Omoa by the British—Action between Paul Jones and captain Pierson—Memorial to the States-General—Rodney appointed to the command of the fleet in the West Indies—Prince William Henry sails as a midshipman—Action of admiral Kempenfeldt—State of British government—Meeting of parliament—Changes in administration—Irish affairs . page 42

CHAP. XXII.

Meeting of parliament—King's speech—Amendment moved to the address—Systematic attack on administration arranged—Efforts of Burke, Dunning, and Fox—Change of principles in lord Lyttleton and Mr. Adam—Duel between the latter and Mr. Fox—Attack on the king's speech by lord George Gordon—Lord Shelburne attacks ministers in the case of Ireland—Communication of papers respecting that country by lord North—Introduces three propositions for the relief of Ireland, &c.—Fails in giving satisfaction—Cry for economy—Cause of economical reform—Duke of Richmond's motion on the subject in the house of lords rejected—Mr. Burke introduces it into the lower house—Meeting in Yorkshire and other counties, &c., to petition for reform—Mr. Burke's motion in the house—His scheme, comprised in five resolutions, is rejected—Lord Shelburne's motion for a commission of accounts rejected—Colonel Barré's motion for a committee of accounts passed with lord North's approbation—Bill for excluding contractors, &c. from parliament rejected—Other motions regarding places and pensions, &c.—Duel between Mr. Fullarton and lord Shelburne—Altercation between lord North and the speaker—Reception of petitions by the house—Debates on them—Mr. Dunning's motions on the increase of crown influence, &c. carried—Illness of the speaker—The house adjourns—Reassembles with altered sentiments—Mr. Dunning's motion for an address to the king—Mr. Adam opposes it—

Answered by Mr. Fox—Motion rejected—Subsequent debates, &c.—Change of sentiments in the house accounted for—Lord North's proposal respecting the East India company—Motion by general Conway, &c.—Protestant association—Lord George Gordon—Steps taken to procure a repeal of acts in favor of papists—Riots in London—Meeting of parliament—Conduct of the king—Discussions respecting the interference of the military—Lord Mansfield's opinion—The petitions taken into consideration by the commons—Bill against catholic schoolmasters passed by the lower, but rejected by the upper house—Supplies, &c. for 1780—Rioters tried—Lord George Gordon tried, and acquitted—Dissolution of parliament—New elections—The armed neutrality—Coalition against us in India—State of domestic affairs—Sir George Rodney's success against the Spaniards—Defeats admiral Langara—His humane conduct regarding the prisoners—Relieves Minorca and Gibraltar, &c.—Sails for the West Indies—His actions with the French fleet, &c.—Proceeds to the coast of North America—State of American affairs—Expedition against South Carolina—Capture of Charleston, and reduction of the province, &c.—General Gates appointed to the American command—Battle of Camden—Conduct of lord Cornwallis—Affairs at New York—Treason of general Arnold, and fate of major André, &c.—Rodney returns to the West Indies—Maritime losses sustained by the British—Domestic affairs page 68

CHAP. XXIII.

Meeting of the new parliament—Mr. Cornwall elected speaker—King's speech—Fox's attack on lord Sandwich—Lord North's reply—Rupture with Holland—Notice of it in the session of 1781—Associations appoint delegates—Mr. Burke brings forward the rejected bills of last session—Mr. Pitt's first speech in the house of commons—Other popular efforts—Altered principles of whigs and tories—Supplies, &c.—Other popular subjects discussed in the house—Mr. Sheridan's first speech—System of associations and delegates reprobated—Evils in the marriage act corrected—Debates on it—Different opinions of Fox and Burke on the subject—Fox's motion respecting the war—Pitt's speech, and defence of his father's principles—Committees on East Indian affairs—Temporary bill continuing the company's monopoly—

CONTENTS.

IX

End of the session, &c.—East Indian affairs in the Deccan from 1778 to 1786—Attack on Jersey—Gibraltar relieved—Attacked by the Spaniards—Attack on Minorca—Combined fleets in the English channel—Naval action with the Dutch—Commodore Johnstone attacked by de Suffrein—Capture of St. Eustatius—Confiscation of property—Farther operations of the fleets in the West Indies—State of affairs in America—Arnold's expedition to Virginia—State of the American army, &c.—Washington's resources—Lord Cornwallis's Virginian campaign—Large naval force despatched from France under de Grasse—Siege of Cornwallis in Yorktown—His surrender to Washington—Reflections on the events of the campaign page 110

CHAP. XXIV.

Sentiments of foreign powers towards England—Prevailing disaffection at home towards ministers—Arrival of the news concerning lord Cornwallis's surrender, &c.—King's speech—Debates on address, &c.—Attack on Sir George Rodney and general Vaughan regarding the capture of St. Eustatius, &c.—Debates on the army estimates—Motions of Sir James Lowther for peace—Declining influence of administration—Renewed debates—Mr. Pitt's speech, &c.—Discharge of Mr. Laurens—Parliament adjourns—Addresses to his majesty for a dismissal of ministers—Admiral Kempenfeldt's action—Domestic events—Appearance of the heir apparent at court, &c.—State of Spain and France—Events in the West Indies—Capture of St. Christopher's, &c.—Plan of attack on ministers—Fox's motions for inquiry into the navy, &c.—Event discouraging to the ministers—Debates on lord George Germaine's elevation to the peerage—Attacks on administration—Lord North resigns—Rockingham administration—Mr. Pitt's situation—That of Fox and Burke—Sentiments of the cabinet—Resolutions agreed on—Affairs of Ireland, and establishment of its legislative independence—Bill passed regarding contractors and revenue officers—Resolutions regarding Wilkes expunged from the journals—Borough of Cricklade disfranchised—Debates on parliamentary reform—Subject introduced by Mr. Pitt, &c.—East India affairs—Passing of Mr. Burke's bill for economical reform—Proposals for peace with Holland—Low estimation of England at this time by the continental powers—Great

Britain recovers her consequence by Rodney's glorious victory—
Honors bestowed on the admiral, &c.—Tardy negotiations for
peace page 152

CHAP. XXV.

Change in ministry through the death of lord Rockingham—
Lord Shelburne's administration—Prorogation of parliament, and
king's speech—Supplies—Anecdote respecting the regalia of the
crown—Affairs of the war in America—Conduct of general
Greene, and evacuation of Charleston—State of things in New
York—Affair of captain Joshua Huddy—State of the war in the
West Indies—Plan of our maritime warfare—Admiral Barrington's
cruise—Brilliant affair of captain Jervis—Lord Howe's man-
œuvres—Dreadful losses sustained by admiral Graves's fleet—
Loss of the Royal George—Siege and relief of Gibraltar—Prospect
of a general pacification—Mr. Fitzherbert sent as minister ple-
nipotentiary to Paris—Progress of negotiations—Attempts made
by lord Shelburne to strengthen his cabinet—Hostilities com-
mence between Pitt and Fox—Meeting of parliament in Decem-
ber—King's speech—Debates on the address, &c.—Parliament
adjourns—Preliminary treaties—Affairs of Ireland—Embarrassed
situation of the ministry—Commencement and conclusion of the
coalition between Fox and lord North—Discussion of the pre-
liminaries of peace in the house of lords—Defence of himself by
lord Shelburne—Debates in the house of commons—Success of
the coalition—Interregnum in the ministry—Addresses to the
king for the appointment of a new administration—His majesty's
embarrassment—Various attempts to form a cabinet—The coa-
lition ministers forced on the king—Character of the coalition—
Mr. Pitt's prudent and honorable conduct 184

CHAP. XXVI.

Re-establishment of commercial intercourse, &c. with America
—Provision made for the American loyalists—Loan of £12,000,000
—Outcry against it—Mr. Pitt's motion for reforming the treasury
—Indian affairs brought before the house, and relief bill passed
—Mr. Pitt's bill for a reform of parliament—Rejected—Other
popular measures of Mr. Pitt—Petition of the quakers against

CONTENTS.

XI

the slave trade—Settlement on the prince of Wales—Prorogation of parliament—Execution of treaties, &c.—Effects of American war—State of foreign nations—Mr. Adams arrives as envoy from the United States—His interview with the king—Affairs of America—Evils consequent on the reduction of the army—Services of Washington—He bids adieu to his officers—Resigns his command to congress—His subsequent good offices—Chosen president of the United States—Re-elected to that station—His final retreat from public affairs—English affairs—The king's disgust at the coalition ministry—Fox gives notice of his celebrated India bill—Meeting of parliament—King's speech—Introduction of Mr. Fox's bill—Debates on it—Rejected—Proceedings of parliament in consequence—Ministry dissolved by the king—Commencement of Mr. Pitt's administration page 211

CHAP. XXVII.

Situation of the king and the new minister—Mr. Pitt's determination not to dissolve the parliament—Reasons for that determination—Mr. Erskine's motion for an address to the king on the subject—His majesty's answer—Motion of lord Surrey respecting the duchy of Lancaster—Mr. Pitt's disinterested conduct regarding the clerkship of the pells—Domestic affairs—Conduct of the prince of Wales in the affair of Fox's India bill, &c.—Meeting of parliament—Great contest between Pitt and Fox for supremacy—Attempts made to produce a coalition between them fail—Firmness and moral courage of the king—The people favor his cause against the commons—This, added to Mr. Pitt's high character, occasions the triumph of that minister—Dissolution of parliament—Returns highly favorable to Mr. Pitt—Effect on different parties—The minister's difficult situation . . . 232

CHAP. XXVIII.

Meeting of a new parliament—Conduct of the high bailiff of Westminster canvassed—Acts to prevent smuggling—Budget of 1784—Bill for the regulation of the East India company introduced by Mr. Pitt—Carried—Bill passed for the restoration of forfeited estates in Scotland—Great popularity of Mr. Pitt—Domestic events—Attempt of the emperor Joseph to open the

navigation of the Scheldt—Opening of parliament—The minister left in a minority—Mr. Pitt introduces a new measure of parliamentary reform—Is defeated—Financial improvements adopted by the minister—Budget of 1785—Affairs of Ireland—Resolutions for adjusting the commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms passed in both houses—but not sanctioned by the Irish legislature—Mortification of Mr. Pitt on this occasion—Popular meetings in Ireland, and prosecutions by government—Affairs on the continent page 261

ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. The Riot in Broad-street, 1780 Frontispiece.
2. Death of Major Pierson Vignette.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. XX.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1778.

Effect of general Burgoyne's surrender on the court of France—Count de Vergennes, and Marie Antoinette—First French envoy sent to North America—American affairs in Paris—Hints of conciliatory measures by lord North—Mr. Fox's speech in the committee on the state of the nation—His motion rejected—Also that of the duke of Richmond—Mr. Burke's speech against the employment of Indians—Story of Miss Macrea—Governor Pownal's speech and humane proposal—Attempt of Mr. Fox to stop the sending of troops to America—Examination of evidence in the upper house—Lord North introduces his conciliatory bills—Debates on them—Intimation of the French treaty with America—Attempt to engage lord Chatham in the administration—Notification of the French treaty to parliament—Motion of an address thereon—Debates—Investigation of the state of the navy—Lord Sandwich severely attacked—Motion for excluding contractors from seats in parliament—Committee for the revision of the Irish trade laws—Opposition of the British merchants and manufacturers—Bill for the relief of Roman catholics—Motion of censure on lord George Germaine—Duke of Richmond's motion in the house of lords, and last reply of lord Chatham—His death, &c.—Supplies, &c. for 1778—Parliament rises—King's speech—Admiral Rodney—Military affairs in America—Manner in which notice of the conciliatory bills was received—Notification of the French treaty—Unfortunate action under La Fayette—Sir Henry Clinton takes the supreme command of the British army—Conduct of the British commissioners, and of congress—Evacuation of Philadelphia by the British troops

—March towards New York—Affair of general Lee—His disgrace—Arrival of a French fleet on the shores of America under count d'Estaing—The British fleet protected in the harbor of New York—Combined attack of French and Americans on Rhode Island—Its failure—D'Estaing's conduct meets with disapprobation—Operations of the British army in the provinces of New York and New Jersey—Attack of the savages on the settlement of Wyoming under colonel Butler—Americans take revenge—The French envoy received at Philadelphia—Instructions sent to Franklin—French deprived of their fishery at Newfoundland—They capture Dominica; but lose St. Lucie—French plans regarding Canada counteracted by the prudence of Washington—Capture of Savannah by the British—Naval operations in the British channel—Affairs respecting admiral Keppel and Sir Hugh Palliser—Domestic matters.

THE capture of general Burgoyne's army determined France to assume that hostile attitude, to which her secret intrigues in favor of the revolted Americans were all preparatory: Spain was not so ready to throw off the mask; but there was no doubt of her adhering to those plans which the elder branch of the house of Bourbon had adopted. It may seem repugnant to every maxim of true policy, that nations, which had foreign settlements of their own, and whose government at home was founded in despotism, and corrupted by abuses of every description, should teach a lesson, and set an example, which might so easily be turned against themselves; or that a bare apprehension of that shock to the political system of Europe, which American success was sure to produce, did not deter the most ambitious statesmen from engaging in a transatlantic war. But pride and avarice, with a desire of wiping off the disgrace of the last contest, and securing the exclusive benefits of American commerce, rendered the French ministers blind to consequences; while the king's natural indolence and moderate abilities threw the reins of government into the hands of that anti-pacific party, of which the queen was considered the head, and which thought the present a favorable opportunity of rising on the ruin of a detested rival. An appearance of neutrality, with secret aid given to the revolted colonists, had been long kept up, and all open declaration of hostility was still anxiously avoided; but the capture of Burgoyne's army, and the reports of some very conciliatory propositions about to be submitted by the British ministry to the American colonists, obliged the French cabinet to throw off the mask earlier than was intended. It was well known that the Americans, notwithstanding their success at Saratoga, labored under such

great distress for want of internal resources, while their trade was interrupted by the British cruisers, that in all probability they would be obliged to submit to terms, unless foreign aid could be obtained: by strongly insisting on these topics, Dr. Franklin gave at length a decisive turn to the counsels at Versailles; and a treaty was signed on the sixth of February, though not publicly avowed, nor perhaps definitively arranged in all its terms: but the complete independence of the United States was therein acknowledged. The great friend of the Americans in this business was the count de Vergennes; on whose shoulders congress chiefly threw the burden of its foreign affairs, and of many troubles at home connected with them: for it was a standing instruction, that the American agents abroad were to seek advice from the French court; so that the calls on the time and attention of this minister were incessant: and when we consider the novel situation of France with respect to England, the negociations for loans and subsidies, the disbursement of supplies, the fitting out of armed vessels for the Americans in French ports, the discontent of French officers serving in America, the clamors of neutral and belligerent powers, with numerous other vexations, which in succession devolved on the count de Vergennes;—we are astonished, that even the acknowledged patience and good temper of that statesman could sustain his policy: nothing indeed enabled him to act, but the gratified animosity of the French people to England, and the decisive support which he received from the queen. This attachment of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette to the revolutionary cause is generally confessed by American writers;¹ and is supposed to have arisen chiefly from the impulse of family pride, or affection, inducing her to exert all her influence to involve France in a foreign contest, and thus prevent its opposition to the unjust and ambitious schemes of the Austrian court regarding the Bavarian succession.²

¹ North American Review, vol. xxxiii. p. 471.

² The elector of Bavaria, having died without issue, December 30, 1777, was succeeded in his dominions at large by his heir, the elector palatine: he had scarcely however entered his new capital of Munich, when the Austrian troops poured from all sides into lower Bavaria, and seized every place to which they came; another strong body advanced to the upper Palatinate; and a third army of 60,000 men were prepared ready to follow up success. No alternative remained for the elector, but to lose the whole of his dominions, or resign the better half of them to violence and injustice; which latter course he took: such a flagrant attack however on the rights of succession, such a dismember-

Not long after the treaty between France and America had been signed, Mr. Silas Deane returned to the United States with M. Gerard, the first French envoy appointed to that country. Mr. John Adams was Mr. Deane's successor at Paris, where the principal business of the commissioners lay in sending out military supplies, in fitting out privateers, effecting the sale of prizes, adjudicating contested cases, and performing the duties usually discharged by consuls and mercantile agents. This was less difficult now than before the treaty, as there was less reason for concealment and disguise; particularly when lord Stormont quitted Paris, and his spies disappeared. The French government immediately granted to congress a loan of 3,000,000 livres, which afforded an important temporary relief, and enabled the commissioners to meet the draughts which came on them rather heavily from home.³

Hints thrown out by lord North in the British parliament, during the debate on the question of adjournment, made it evident that ministers had turned their thoughts to some new scheme of conciliation with the colonists; though they felt the necessity of making such preparations for the ensuing campaign, as would enable them to treat with dignity, and assert the sovereign rights of Great Britain with success: in this, as already has been noticed, they were zealously seconded by the spirit of the people; but more particularly by corporate bodies, and individuals of rank and influence. When parliament met on the twenty-second of January, the levying of troops by private subscription claimed its earliest attention; but though the debates on this point were frequently renewed with unusual heat, the opposition were foiled in all attempts to obtain a vote of censure.

In both houses intense interest was excited by the approaching debates in committee on the state of the nation. On the second of February, Mr. Fox opened the business in the commons, entreating them to divest themselves of former opinions, favorite ideas, and long-cherished prejudices, and to

ment of two great electorates, alarmed the princes of the empire, and rendered an appeal to the sword necessary. After a year's war with Prussia and other members of the Germanic body, the emperor was obliged to relinquish the districts he had so unjustly seized, retaining only the frontier territory appertaining to the regency of Burghausen, which was ceded to the house of Austria, as an equivalent for her formal renunciation of all her old and vexatious claims.

³ North American Review, vol. xxi. p. 486.

abide by the fair result of the present inquiry : he recommended an oblivion of all enmity towards America ; and he laid it down as an axiom, that when any country falls in a short period from the highest summit of power, there must have been some radical fault in its government, though such fault may be no proof of ministerial criminality.

He then took an historical review of proceedings relative to America since 1774, and exposed the error of ministers in mistaking a single province for a whole continent ; the state of Massachussetts-bay for the American empire. Virginia, a colony no less tenacious of its rights, was totally forgotten, and a union of the provinces was deemed impossible ; but whoever should contend against ten, when prepared for only one antagonist, must encounter greater difficulties, than if aware at first of the resisting force. After observing, that every attempt to crush an insurrection by inadequate means, fomented instead of suppressing it, he went on to show how England had erred in this respect : on the events of the last campaign he forbore to touch, as they demanded a separate investigation. From the papers before the house, he contended, that to send more troops out of this country would be highly imprudent ; the conduct of France, the state of public credit, his majesty's speech, all sufficiently proved the necessity of preparing for an European war : it was time therefore to contemplate the domestic situation of the country, and not leave it defenceless, for the purpose of protracting a contest that was impracticable ; a contest, in which so much treasure had been expended, and so many lives lost. He therefore moved that no more troops from the old corps should be sent out of the kingdom. No answer was made to Mr. Fox's speech ; but his motion was rejected by 259 to 165.

The duke of Richmond, pursuing the same line of argument in the upper house, founded on it a motion somewhat similar : but this also was rejected, as amounting to a public acknowledgement by Great Britain of her inability to prosecute the war, and assert her rights over the colonies ; as inviting the house of Bourbon to attempt an invasion ; and as attacking the inherent prerogative of the crown to raise, direct, and employ the military force of the kingdom.

During the next sitting of the committee, Mr. Burke moved for papers relative to the employment of Indians in America, from 1774 to 1778 ; in support of which motion he made a speech three hours in length ; which, though very inadequately reported, is considered as one of the most splendid efforts of

his oratory. Governor Johnstone declared that he rejoiced in the exclusion of strangers;⁴ for had they heard it, their indignation and enthusiasm would have impelled them to tear in pieces the two ministerial lords, North and Germaine. In this harangue, Mr. Burke dwelt chiefly on the Indian mode of warfare, which was so horrible as to exceed the ferocity of all barbarians recorded in history. He ludicrously analysed general Burgoyne's speech to these savages; not decrying its sentiments, but only the application of them to wretches as little likely to be moved by them as the wild beasts of the forest. He showed, by details of general Burgoyne's and colonel St. Leger's expeditions, that the Indians indiscriminately murdered men, women, and children, friends and foes; nay, that the greatest slaughter often fell on those who were best affected to the government, and had been disarmed by the revolutionists. He painted in vivid colors the story of Miss Macrea, whose fate was very remarkable, and created a violent animosity against the British army.

The father of this unfortunate young woman was strongly attached to the royal cause; and she herself was to have been married, the very day on which she was killed, to an officer in general Burgoyne's army: while on her way to meet her lover, she was murdered by two Indian chiefs sent for her protection. A deed so atrocious called forth general indignation: a correspondence between the British and American generals ensued on the subject, and the former was much reflected on in consequence of this cruel murder. The excuse he made was, that the two chiefs having disputed which of them should be her principal guard, and obtain a larger reward; he, from whose hands she was snatched, cleaved her head, in a fit of rage, with his tomahawk. As the murderer was not put to death, it was thought either that these savage allies were too powerful, or their services too highly valued, to run the risk of offending them: the real cause, however, of pardon being extended to the offender, was an agreement made by his tribe with the British general, to abstain for the future from indulging in wanton cruelties: this he considered of more consequence, than to take revenge on a wretch, who scarcely knew that he had committed an evil act.

The arguments of Mr. Burke were strenuously supported by governor Pownall; who declared that there was not so unfair,

⁴ An order to this effect had been made in the house of commons.

so hellish an engine of war, as savages mixed with civilised troops. After forcibly illustrating this position, that benevolent man proposed, as a mode of putting an end to so atrocious a mode of warfare, that the two countries should mutually agree to break off all alliance with these bloodhounds, and treat them as enemies whenever they should commit any act of hostility against a white person, American or European. If government, he said, would propose the terms of such an agreement, he would answer for it that congress would embrace and execute them with good faith: the very overture might occasion the happiest effects, in producing mutual kind offices, and leading ultimately to a perfect reconciliation: besides, he offered to go in person, without pay or hope of any reward, and make the proposal to congress; and he would answer with his life for the success of the negociation. It is pleasing to record such an instance of genuine philanthropy in an individual: but very different feelings are excited by the ministerial rejection of Mr. Burke's motion, and of governor Pownall's auxiliary proposition.

Another effort was made, on the eleventh of February, by Mr. Fox, to effect those regulations and restraints of military exertion, which opposition seemed to reckon one of the chief objects in obtaining the committee. He showed that in all the reinforcements sent to America since 1774, we had lost full 20,000 men during the contest; and he concluded, that if with so vast a force so little had been accomplished, it was useless to prosecute the war: this statement of loss was represented by the friends of government as greatly overrated, and the resolution evaded by a motion for leave to report progress.

The committee of the lords was employed in the examination of evidence: merchants were called as witnesses, by the opposition peers, who proved that great losses had resulted to their commercial concerns from the war; whilst others, on the side of government, showed not only that considerable captures had been made, but that new and profitable sources of commerce had been opened since the commencement of hostilities. The duke of Richmond resisted the arguments drawn from this testimony: the prizes taken and distributed to British seamen, far from being a balance in our favor, added to our loss; for if we had not been at war with America, the value of all these cargoes, in the circuitous course of trade, must have centred in Great Britain. The propositions were disposed of, as in the lower house, by the previous question: other motions

also made by the duke of Richmond, for ascertaining the number of troops sent to America, as well as the expenses incurred by the war, occasioned long discussions to no purpose.

On the seventeenth of February lord North brought into the house of commons two bills tending to a reconciliation with the colonists: the first was expressly designed to remove from their minds all apprehensions concerning taxation by the British parliament; and it also repealed the act which imposed a duty on tea: the second enabled his majesty to appoint commissioners to consult and agree on the means of quieting the disorders subsisting in certain colonies of North America: these commissioners were endowed with very extensive powers, and were authorised to treat with congress as if it were a legal body; with any of the provincial assemblies; with general Washington; or with any other individual in a civil capacity or military command: they had power to order a suspension of arms; to prohibit the operation of all laws; to grant pardons, immunities, and rewards of all kinds; to restore all or any of the colonies to the form of their ancient constitution; and wherever the king nominated the governor and other public officers, to appoint such at their discretion, until his majesty's pleasure could be known. It had been objected to the former commissioners, that their powers were deficient: this act therefore declared that, should the Americans make a claim of independence at the outset of the treaty, they would not be required to renounce it until the treaty was ratified by the British legislature. A reasonable and moderate contribution towards the common defence of the empire, when reunited, was to be the object of negotiation; but not to be insisted on as a *sine qua non* of the treaty.

These concessions were much more ample than those brought forward by lord Chatham and Mr. Burke, which were at the time unhappily disapproved: expressions of disapprobation were heard from the tory party in the house; and some of the country gentlemen loudly complained of the deception practised against them relative to American taxation. On the other hand, lord North's propositions were generally approved by the opposition, though many members strenuously contended that they would be inefficient at the present moment: as however there was something like a chance, they would not obstruct a plan which had conciliation for its object. Mr. Fox, in particular, was very severe on the minister; 'whose arguments,' he said, 'might be collected into one point, and

his excuses comprised in one apology, or rather in one word, *ignorance*; a palpable and total ignorance of America: he had expected much, and had been disappointed in every thing: necessity alone had compelled him now to speak out.' He also accused the minister, with added threats of condign punishment, of adjourning parliament, in order to propose terms of pacification; but neglecting the business until France had concluded a treaty with the independent states of America. He assured the house, that he had it from unquestionable authority, that such a treaty had been signed at Paris; and he called on the minister to afford them satisfaction on so important a point. Mr. Grenville joined in demanding an answer; averring that he had received information of very offensive language held by the court of France, and the march of troops from its interior provinces.

Lord North reluctantly acknowledged that such a treaty was in agitation; though, as it was not authenticated by the ambassador, he had no authority to pronounce absolutely that it was concluded.

Prepared by the debates in the house of commons, the lords in opposition embarrassed the progress of the conciliatory bills with numerous objections. The duke of Richmond read the American declaration paragraph by paragraph, and tauntingly asked ministers whether they meant to subscribe to assertions such as these:—'that the king is a tyrant,'—'that his majesty had lost the affection of his American subjects by the insolent, daring, perfidious, and unconstitutional language of ministers,' &c. ? These bills, far from regaining America, would sound the trumpet of war to all nations: they were at once ignominious and ineffectual: they meant nothing, or worse than nothing: they were better calculated to divide than to conciliate: they empowered commissioners to treat with America, and then called them back to Europe to consult parliament. Why not renounce at once the right of taxation reserved in the declaratory act? Why not, instead of arming commissioners with powers, not to be regulated, and of course not properly exercised, repeal all obnoxious acts at once? Such conduct would evince sincerity.

Lord Temple expressed his indignation and contempt at the measure. America had aimed at independence from the first: ministers had raised the spirit of the nation by the new levies, and now diminished it by disgracefully prostrating the country, parliament, and people at the feet of Franklin and Deane, to whom they paid homage in sackcloth and ashes.

Lord Shelburne also opposed the bills, as tending to separate the two countries; for he never would consent that America should be independent of England: his idea of their connexion was, that they should have one friend, one enemy, one purse, and one sword; England superintending the whole, as the great controlling power: and this might have been procured not long since, and perhaps even now, without the shedding of blood. In the course of the debate, the duke of Grafton put the same question to ministers which Mr. Fox had propounded in the lower house; when lord Weymouth answered, 'that he knew nothing of any such treaty: he had received no authentic information of its being in existence or contemplation.'

The bills passed without a division, but with a protest from lord Abingdon, embodying the principal objections urged in the debate.

At such a crisis, good policy required that an attempt should be made to secure the assistance of the great war minister, so idolised for his success in a former emergency, and so revered by the Americans for his firm, but conciliatory conduct towards them. Overtures were undoubtedly made to lord Chatham, to form a new cabinet; but the treaty terminated abruptly; and neither its terms, nor the cause of its failure, have been sufficiently elucidated.

The conciliatory bills had scarcely received the royal assent, when lord North delivered a message from his majesty to the commons, and lord Weymouth to the upper house, informing them that 'a rescript had been delivered by the French ambassador, avowing that a treaty of amity, commerce, and alliance had been recently concluded with the United States of America, which, it is said, are in full possession of independence: that it stipulates for no exclusive advantages in favor of the French nation; but professes a constant and sincere disposition for peace with Great Britain; and declares that his most christian majesty will protect effectually the lawful commerce of his subjects, and maintain the dignity of his flag. In consequence of this offensive communication, the British ambassador had been instructed to withdraw from Paris; and the king relied on the zeal and affectionate spirit of his people to repel insult, and maintain the national honor.'

In discussing the motion for an address, an amendment was proposed, requesting the king to dismiss his ministers: lord North was reproached for a culpable neglect of the means

of information and defence: he had suffered himself to be surprised by the notification of a treaty which appeared to have been two years under discussion; and on the eve of a war, the country was destitute of adequate means for its internal security.

Governor Pownall, without intending to vindicate the ministry, detailed the circumstances and progress of the treaty, which he said had not existed in idea six months, nor been in actual negociation more than three: he afterwards observed that peace with America was yet practicable if Great Britain would pursue the proper course. 'The Americans,' he contended, 'are, and must be, independent: we acknowlege it in our acts; and have already, though we may try to cover our shame with words, resigned all dominion over them: they will never rescind their declaration; but if parliament will extend the powers of the commissioners so far as to acknowlege their independence, on conditions, they will, in return, form with us a federal treaty, offensive, defensive, and commercial. The compact, signed at Paris, is not yet ratified by congress: by a speedy and candid exertion, this country may still be enabled to take advantage of the natural predilection of the Americans for the parent state: if a federal treaty were not adopted, and the Americans should ever be induced to treat on other terms, one of their first demands must be a reimbursement of expenses, and an indemnification for losses: a pecuniary remuneration was out of the question; but in lieu of it, government must sacrifice Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Newfoundland fishery: this he knew would be insisted on: but if independence were conceded, America could only treat with us on the same ground as any other independent nation. He did not think our force insufficient to resist the new enemy: it was indifferent to him who were ministers; but he coincided with all the feelings of resentment indicated in the address.'

General Conway supported these principles; declaring that he had seen a letter from Dr. Franklin, written since the treaties had been signed, and offering peace if Great Britain would forego her claims to supremacy: Mr. Dundas also thought it would be better policy to form a federal union, than to lose America, and let her fall into the hands of France. Many times during the debate the name of lord Chatham was brought up, as the only statesman capable of rescuing the vessel of the state in these trying circumstances; but lord North, after expressing, as on a former occasion, a total disregard to office, declared that the interest of the empire, no

less than his own reputation, demanded that he should remain at the helm. The original address was carried by 263 to 113. In the upper house the debate was chiefly maintained by two parties in opposition; one of which was desirous to preserve America at all events by the full grant of independence; while the other considered, not only that the indignities offered by the colonists to their parent state justified immediate hostilities, but that the loss of America would put an end to the prosperity of Great Britain. The address was carried by a large majority; and another, in answer to a message for calling out the militia, was passed without division or debate.

The very important subject of the navy, which had been severely scrutinised in the committee of supply, now attracted more particular attention. Whoever has read the authentic memoirs and correspondence of eminent men⁵ about this period, will have felt that there was too much justice in the charges brought against administration for neglecting that great bulwark of British power: the blame, however, in this case must be divided: it attaches itself no less to the prime minister, who so soon forgot the use which lord Chatham had made of that grand instrument of war, than to lord Sandwich, whose inattention to the duties of his department, and deference to parliamentary influence, allowed the ships to fall into decay, and to be commanded by officers almost unacquainted with the rudiments of their profession. These charges were as easily evaded, as denied, in that corrupt parliament which was now assembled under the auspices of lord North: the truth of them however will become evident as we proceed.

An account of the ships in the British navy having been submitted to the committee, Mr. Fox, on the eleventh of March, submitted a motion to the house, that this force was inadequate to the defence of the country: Mr. Temple Luttrell followed, and in a long detail exposed the bad condition of the ships, the neglect of supplies, and the deplorable state of the service in all its departments; nothing being clearer than its inefficiency for the protection of the realm, except the prostitution, mismanagement, and atrocious criminality of those ministers who had so long deluded their sovereign. No regular answer was returned to these statements, as the king's message respecting France was then in preparation.

In the house of lords the subject was taken up by the duke

⁵ See particularly the interesting Life of Lord Rodney by major-general Mundy.

of Bolton, who moved that the surveyor of the navy should be examined : but lord Sandwich having resisted the proposal, as tending to injure the country by improper disclosures, the motion was negatived. Lord Radnor observed, that the house treated the first lord of the admiralty with much more respect than their ancestors had treated the husband of a queen of England.

On the thirty-first of March lord Effingham returned to the charge on this disgraceful subject, accusing lord Sandwich of gross mismanagement, and moving a series of propositions, for disclosing the state of the navy during the last eight years, the ordinary estimates, and ships built, repaired, and broken up. Lord Sandwich made on this occasion a long defence ; and comparing the present state of the navy with its condition in 1727, drew deductions highly favorable to his own administration ; a sure sign that there was something wrong in his conduct. In the course of debate, many collateral topics were introduced ; as the mismanagement of Greenwich-hospital, improvidence in the formation of contracts, peculation in the dock-yards ; and the first lord of the admiralty was told to beware of popular vengeance and the punishment of De Witt, who was torn limb from limb by the multitude. The debate became very tumultuous, and the motions were all negatived : so great however was public dissatisfaction at the direction of naval affairs about this time, that many distinguished officers of the highest rank sent in their resignation ; and so general was the dislike to the service, that twenty captains proposed to resign their commissions at once, and were prevented only by the necessity which existed for their services.

Previously to the above discussion, the attention of parliament had been called by lord Effingham, in the upper house, to a scandalous neglect of economy in the transport service ; and colonel Barré, in the commons, moved for a select committee to inspect the public accounts, charging the minister with gross negligence and ignorance in making contracts, and not understanding the difference between currency and sterling : he also accused the house of shameful and traitorous servility in sanctioning his evasions and delusions.

Lord North was led by such accusations to explain himself with some warmth, and to consent that a committee should be appointed : a report was accordingly presented to the house, but at too late a period for consideration. Sir Philip Jennings Clarke took advantage of these discussions to propose a bill for excluding contractors from parliament, unless their con-

tracts were obtained by a public bidding : during the debate many violent reflections were made on the characters and gains of government-contractors ; and the fanatical lord George Gordon, soon about to become so notorious, designated the minister as the worst of all contractors ; a contractor for men ; a contractor for parliamentary flocks ; a contractor for the representatives of the people ; advising him to save his country, and rescue his own life from popular vengeance, by calling away his butchers and ravagers from the colonies before the king's troops were totally defeated. The bill of course was lost ; as also was one proposed by Mr. Gilbert, to tax, during the war, all salaries, fees, and pensions issuing out of the exchequer or any other branch of his majesty's revenues.

In the beginning of April a committee of the house of commons was formed for the revision of the trade laws relating to Ireland, which country had suffered much by the American war ; a stop having been thereby put to exportations of manufactures, and a large body of the people deprived of employment. This decrease of trade was the more severely felt in consequence of the heavy additions recently made to the civil establishment by the increase of pensions and other burdensome appointments. Lord Nugent, with whom the measure originated, declared that the Irish people were, from their unshaken loyalty, entitled to the encouragement of a wise and grateful government : hitherto indeed oppressive laws had been their sole reward ; but neither he nor his countrymen meant to offer complaints : they saw Great Britain distressed : their resentment was hushed ; and, forgetful of their wrongs, they made an unsolicited offer of their fortunes and lives. From a view of the laws which bore particularly hard on the Irish, he had drawn up a few resolutions, which he trusted the committee would adopt. His motion now was, that they might send on board British vessels to the coast of Africa, and other foreign settlements, all home manufactures, with the exception of wool and woollen cloth : this was agreed to without a division ; and other resolutions were subsequently adopted, that a direct importation be allowed of all goods, wares, and merchandise, being the produce of British plantations, except tobacco ; that the direct exportation of glass, manufactured in Ireland, be permitted to all places except Great Britain ; that the importation of Irish cotton yarn be allowed in Great Britain free of duty ; as also the importation of sail-cloth and cordage.

These apparent innovations greatly alarmed the merchants

of Bristol and Liverpool, as well as the manufacturers in the counties of Lancashire and Nottingham: during the Easter recess a formidable opposition was got up in those quarters; and the different members of parliament were strongly urged to oppose the admission of Irishmen to a participation of the rights of British subjects. Petitions flowed in from all parts of the kingdom, and from various classes of manufacturers. The first which engaged the attention of the house was from those of Somersetshire against the importation of sail-cloth: on this, Mr. Burke, who had moved for leave to bring in the bill, declared that he had committed an error; for he had since discovered that a law for this very purpose was in existence. If the bill, he observed, was to produce all the consequences stated by the petitioners, why did they not complain when they were first hurt? from this he inferred that the jealousy entertained of the other bills was equally ill-founded, and originated only in prejudice and selfishness: against the arguments of their opponents, he said, they only restored what the wisdom of parliament had on a former occasion granted to Ireland. He then ably refuted the principle, that Ireland could not be indulged in a free trade without becoming an injurious rival to Great Britain: the one country never could vie with the other in manufactures; which he showed from various sources, and especially from the bill for the free importation of woollen-yarn into England, which had been opposed by numberless petitions, yet by experience had been found beneficial. It was absurd to think that a participation of manufacture would be detrimental: the woollen manufacture had been planted in different parts of the kingdom; yet competition had promoted the trade. He lamented that in this instance his conscience impelled him to oppose the wishes, though not the interests, of his constituents at Bristol: if they rejected him on this account, he should not blame them: the example would at all events be useful, of a senator adhering to his opinion against interest and popularity; and of constituents exercising their undoubted right of rejection, not on corrupt motives, but from the persuasion that he whom they had chosen had acted against the judgment and interests of those whom he represented.⁶ Notwithstanding both sides of the house seemed disposed to approve these bills, the clamor of interested persons bore down the sense of the legislature,

⁶ These apprehensions of Mr. Burke were verified at the general election in 1780.

and effected a sort of compromise: most of the advantages proposed for Ireland were abandoned; though some enlargement was afforded to the linen trade, and some openings permitted in the African and West Indian commerce: but the way was cleared for future concessions.

On the fourteenth of May, Sir George Savile, excited by zeal for the honor of protestantism, which he thought disgraced by the act of 1699, and by his rooted hatred of all kind of oppression, brought a bill into the house of commons for a repeal of the act of William III. entitled 'an act to prevent the farther growth of popery;' which to the many pains and penalties before established, added a prohibition to popish priests officiating in their religious services; foreigners so offending being rendered guilty of felony, and natives of high treason. By it, popish heirs, educated in foreign countries, incurred the forfeiture of their estates, which descended to the next protestant heir: a son, being a protestant, was empowered to dispossess his father, being a papist, of his estate; and members of the Romish communion were incapacitated from purchasing land.

The propriety of granting relief to a body of men who acted conscientiously, appeared so manifest to the house, that the motion, which was seconded by Mr. Dunning, and supported by Mr. Thurlow and lord Beauchamp; passed without a dissentient voice. The bill was but slightly opposed in the upper house; and it is well known that the highest character in the realm sincerely rejoiced in the opportunity of releasing this portion of his faithful subjects from oppressive laws and restrictions, as far as he thought compatible with the safety of the state. Thus the subjects of Great Britain, professing the Romish creed, were permitted to perform their religious rites, and were rendered capable of inheriting or purchasing real estates, on subscribing an oath of allegiance to the king, and solemnly disclaiming the doctrine of the pope's authority over this realm, or his power of absolving its people from their obligations to the government by law established. It was one of the greatest glories of the reign of George III., that the dawn of religious freedom rose under his auspices.

On the nineteenth of March Mr. Fox moved two propositions in the house, without success, for censuring lord George Germaine on the subject of general Burgoyne's disaster. This officer, by favor of congress, was permitted to return to England on his parole; but a court of inquiry pronounced its

authority incompetent to an adjudication of his case under these circumstances. Having demanded an audience of the king, he was refused, on the ground of established etiquette; but before the end of the session he obtained a partial opportunity of vindicating his conduct; for a motion was made, on the twenty-sixth of May, for a committee to consider the transactions of the northern army, the convention at Saratoga, and the means by which the general obtained his release. He vindicated his conduct at great length, but the reply of lord George Germaine was short; and he concluded with observing, that as military men were the most proper judges, he did not see the propriety of parliamentary interference. The motion was rejected; but in the course of debate, Mr. Temple Luttrell made a very insulting comparison between lord George Germaine's backwardness in the battle of Minden, and general Burgoyne's zealous, though unsuccessful courage, in the late enterprise: nor did he spare his lordship on the sentence of the court-martial, and his subsequent disgrace by George II.

Lord George Germaine in reply observed, that he never indulged in personalities, nor by his conduct merited such an attack:⁷ much as he despised the honorable member, he would place himself for once on a level with his wretched character and malice: old as he was, he would meet that fighting gentleman, and be revenged. The house called to order: the speaker reprimanded both members, and insisted on their promise that the affair should proceed no farther: lord George apologised for his warmth; and Mr. Luttrell, after much reluctance, acknowledged his error, and declared that he meant his reflections as public matter, and that they were not to be referred to private abuse or enmity. In the sequel, general Burgoyne was ordered to rejoin his army in America; but with this injunction, though coming from the highest authority, he refused to comply: accordingly, he was divested of all the posts and offices which he held under government.

On the seventh of April, the committee on the state of the nation was brought to a close in the house of lords, by a motion of the duke of Richmond for an address to the king, beseeching his majesty to recognise the independence of America,

⁷ It is now generally acknowledged that lord George Sackville's backwardness at Minden arose not from want of courage, but from a dislike to what he thought arrogance in his commander, prince Ferdinand.

by withdrawing all his forces from that country; and to dismiss his present ministers. As the discussion was expected to take place that day, lord Chatham, struggling for a temporary victory over disease, made his appearance in the house, supported by his son Mr. William Pitt, and his son-in-law lord Mahon: as he thus advanced, in the garb and languor of sickness, the fire of his eye softened but not quenched, and the dignity of his commanding figure abated but not destroyed, all the peers, impressed by a sentiment of veneration, rose up, and continued standing while he passed to his seat. After lord Weymouth had made a very animated reply to the motion, lord Chatham rose from his place slowly and with difficulty, and began by lamenting that his infirmities had so long, and at so important a crisis, kept him from his parliamentary duties: he declared that he had made an effort almost beyond the powers of his constitution; and come down to the house this day, probably the last time he should enter its walls, to express the indignation he felt at the humiliating proposal of yielding up the sovereignty of America. A reverential awe and silence pervaded the house, while this great man delivered his sentiments: at first he spoke in a low and feeble tone; but as he grew warm, his voice acquired more power and harmony; and the charms of eloquence, flowing again from his tongue, were rendered doubly affecting by his own situation and the importance of the topic. He entered into a full detail of the American war, dilating on all the measures which he had opposed, and the evils which he had predicted; adding, at the end of each, 'and so it proved.' 'My lords,' he continued, 'I rejoice that the grave has not closed on me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and noble monarchy. Pressed down as I am by a load of infirmities, I am little able to serve my country in this most perilous conjuncture; but, while I have sense and memory, I will never consent to deprive the royal offspring of the house of Brunswick, the heirs of the princess Sophia, of their fairest inheritance; or to tarnish the lustre of the nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and possessions. Shall this great kingdom, that has survived, whole and intire, Danish depredations, Scottish inroads, the Norman conquest, and the threatened invasion of the Spanish armada, now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon? Shall a people, seventeen years ago the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell its ancient and inveterate enemy—Take all we have, only give us peace? It is impossible! I wage war with no man, or set of men: I wish for none of

their employments : nor would I co-operate with those who persist in unretracted error ; or who, instead of acting on a firm, decisive line of conduct, halt between two opinions, where there is no middle path. In God's name, if it be absolutely necessary to declare for peace or war, and if peace cannot be preserved with honor, why is not war commenced without hesitation ? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom ; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not : any state, however, is better than despair : let us at least make one effort ; and if we must fall, let us fall like men.'

The duke of Richmond, after replying to the arguments of lord Weymouth, addressed himself to lord Chatham, for whose person he professed the greatest veneration, and for whose services he retained the sincerest gratitude : but the name of Chatham could not perform impossibilities, or restore the country to the state in which it stood when directed by the counsels of that noble lord. Our revenue was then flourishing under the abilities of that able financier, Mr. Pelham ; our fleet was in excellent condition under that able naval officer, lord Anson ; the influence of the crown had not reached its present alarming height : we had, during the greater part of the war, France alone to contend with : when Spain became our adversary, France was reduced to the lowest ebb : America then fought for us ; now she would be allied with France and Spain against us. ' If the noble earl,' said his grace, ' had pointed out the means of supporting this unequal contest, I should readily acquiesce in his sentiments ; but since he has not only omitted to point out the means, but acknowledged that he knows them not, he will excuse me if I adhere to my former opinion. No person is more anxious for the dependence of America ; but being convinced of its total impracticability, I would retain the colonists as allies, and thus prevent them from throwing themselves into the arms of France. The noble earl, as a reason for war, has mentioned the inherent rights of the heir apparent : to recover these possessions by force is now impossible ; but I will readily join in calling to a severe account those who have caused the loss of his inheritance.'

During this harangue, the duke of Richmond, though he spoke of lord Chatham in words of respect, regarded him with indications of considerable asperity ; and his lordship frequently denoted, by the motion of his hand, that he remarked and would reply to observations, which he considered offen-

sive.⁸ Before the conclusion of the duke's speech, he underwent a slight convulsion; and attempting to rise, as if excited by indignation and eagerness to reply, he sank down, and was caught in the arms of some of the peers next him, who helped to remove him into an adjoining chamber. Medical assistance was obtained, and his lordship recovered so far as to permit his removal to his favorite villa of Hayes in Kent.

When the agitation caused by this melancholy incident had subsided, the house adjourned; but the resumed debate served only to bring into fuller view the difference of opinion between the Rockingham and Chatham parties respecting America; the former contending for its independence without reserve or delay; the latter deprecating such a measure as one of the greatest political evils that could befall the nation. The duke's motion for an address was negatived by a majority of fifty to thirty-three.

The first appearances of recovery in lord Chatham were soon found to be delusive: after lingering a short time, he expired on the eleventh of May, in the seventieth year of his age: his death was announced in the house of commons, late in the same evening, by colonel Barré; who, after a short eulogy on the deceased, and a rapid sketch of his public services, moved for an address to his majesty, that 'the remains of William Pitt, earl of Chatham, be interred at the public expense in Westminster-abbey.' The motion was ably and feelingly seconded by Mr. T. Townshend, and seemed to receive universal approbation: it was known, however, that for some time past his lordship had not been looked on with a favorable eye at court; from which quarter some ungracious expression of sentiment was thought to proceed, when Mr. Rigby, one of the king's friends, attempted to get rid of the motion, by proposing to erect a monument to lord Chatham's memory, as a more eligible and lasting memorial of gratitude than a public funeral. The result, however, of this scheme was very different from what its proposer intended: the opposition received it with joy; and Mr. Dunning combined both resolutions, adding Mr. Rigby's suggestion to that of colonel Barré; to which lord North cheerfully assented.

The king readily agreed to the addresses, so as to remove from himself all imputation of ill-will to the memory of the deceased; and he concurred with another vote of the house, to

⁸ See note in Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 76.

settle a perpetual annuity of £4,000, out of the civil list, on the earldom of Chatham, as well as to grant £20,000 for the payment of the late earl's debts. All this passed in the commons without a dissentient voice; but a motion made by the earl of Shelburne in the lords, that their house should attend the funeral, was lost by a majority of one vote: the annuity-bill also was opposed, but carried by a majority of forty-two to eleven, with a protest by the duke of Chandos, the lord chancellor, lord Paget, and the archbishop of York. The posthumous honors paid to lord Chatham were not confined to parliament: the common council of London petitioned to receive his remains and inter them in the noblest edifice of Great Britain, the cathedral of St. Paul. This being refused, they erected to his memory a superb monument in Guildhall.

The supplies for 1778 amounted to £14,345,497; the navy claiming £5,001,895, and the army £5,579,961; of which latter sum £485,789 was destined to the militia, and to the raising of three fencible regiments in North Britain. Among the miscellanies, was the sum of £105,227 for calling in and recoinng deficient gold coin; £12,900 for compiling a general index to the journals of the house of commons, and £56,680 for the relief of American loyalists. To provide for these expenses, besides the land-tax and duty on malt, six millions were raised on short annuities, £480,000 by a lottery, and two millions by exchequer bills. The sinking-fund to April 5, 1778, produced £703,700: the whole produce of the lottery was distributed into prizes, four tickets for every £500 stock subscribed, on paying £10 for each ticket: the growing produce of the sinking-fund was applied to the amount of £2,296,209. Various duties and savings produced £148,566. The annual interest on the funded debt, with the annuity, amounted to £330,000, for the payment of which a tax of sixpence in the pound was laid on all houses of £5 to £50 a year rent, and one shilling in the pound on all above £50. An additional duty of eight guineas a ton was laid on French wines; and four guineas on all other wines imported: these two taxes were calculated to produce £336,558.⁹

As the French declaration was delivered only a few days after the contract for the loan was made, the contractors became great losers through the sudden fall of the stocks; but though no money had been paid as a deposit, such was their honor, that the payments were regularly made: the minister

⁹ See Lord North's Administration, p. 313.

endeavored to procure for them an indemnification, but without effect.¹⁰ Parliament rose, after an unusually extended session, on the third of June; but the adjournment even then was opposed in both houses, on account of the present alarming crisis in public affairs. His majesty, in his speech, thanked his faithful commons, not only for their zeal and attention to the interests of their country, manifested in many wise, just, and humane laws, but for the honorable support they had made for the royal family; referring to a bill passed in this session for settling an annuity of £60,000 on the six younger princes, of £30,000 on the five princesses, and of £12,000 on the son and daughter of the duke of Gloucester; the annuities to take effect, in the first instance, on the demise of the king; in the second, on that of the duke.

Before we return to the affairs of war, let us here briefly advert to the one great and brilliant character, whom the treaty now signed between America and France sent from the latter nation, where he resided as a voluntary exile, to restore the drooping fortunes of his country, and to bear her flag again in triumph over the ocean. George Bridges Rodney¹¹ entered into the British navy at the age of twelve, and in his twenty-fourth year was appointed by admiral Mathews to command the Plymouth man of war of sixty guns, in which he brought home 300 sail of the Lisbon trade, through the midst of a large French fleet, then cruising in the channel to intercept them;¹² for which exploit he received the thanks of the merchants and a confirmation of his rank by the admiralty. After a series of splendid services in the seven years war, he attained to the rank of admiral, and was raised to the dignity of a baronet: he was next appointed to the government of Greenwich-hospital, and after four years to the chief command of the British fleet in the West Indies; in both which situations he conferred very important benefits on his country. Like many other great men, however, he experienced ingratitude from those in power; and lord Sandwich in particular, though professing himself his friend, and claiming great merit for advancing him to the post of glory when success attended his steps, appears liable to the charge of double-dealing.¹³ As some recompense

¹⁰ See Lord North's Administration, p. 314.

¹¹ See the Life of Rodney, by major-general Mundy; one of the most interesting pieces of biography in the English language, very ably and impartially put together from authentic documents.

¹² In the year 1742.

¹³ See the Life and Correspondence of Lord Rodney, above

for past services, and to repair his ruined fortune, he applied for the governorship of Jamaica, but was rejected in favor of Sir Basil Keith; and being recalled from his command, with a heart full of chagrin he struck his flag at Portsmouth on the fourth of September, 1774. He did not however remain long in England: possessing a very handsome person, courteous manners, and great accomplishments, he had always been a favorite in the highest circles of fashion; where, like many others, he had too eagerly taken in the draught of pleasure. Having been led into a passion for play, the great bane of high society in those days; this vice, added to the expense of several contested elections, and an extravagant style of living, increased his embarrassments to such a degree, that he was obliged to take refuge in France; a country, whose government was destined to tremble at his name. As a rupture between the two countries now became probable, he addressed a letter to lord Sandwich, to be laid at the king's feet, with an ardent tender of his services; but he received a cold, formal acknowledgement through the official channel; whilst inferior pretenders, backed by parliamentary interest, were daily appointed to high and important commands. Rodney saw that nothing was to be effected without an audience of the king; but he was prevented from obtaining this by his debts in Paris, where he was obliged to remain, until he received from the hands of a generous stranger, and an enemy to his nation, that assistance which was withheld by his own countrymen.

During this period of suspense he was surprised by a visit from the maréchal Biron, with an offer from Louis XVI. of a high command in the French fleet, since he could not obtain employment in that of Great Britain; to which proposal Sir George instantly replied;—‘Had this proposal, sir, come from yourself, I should have resented it as one of the greatest insults you could have offered me: since, however, it emanates from a personage who can do no wrong, I shall only answer, that though my own country has forgotten me, she alone is entitled to, and shall have, the best services I can afford her.’¹⁴

referred to, vol. i. The true merit of calling lord Rodney to the command of the British fleets belongs to George III. When he was once there, ministers were glad enough to support him; for, by their own confessions, he was the main support of their administration. See his correspondence *passim*.

¹⁴ The biographer observes, that though he cannot produce any positive evidence of this fact, it is generally credited in the admiral's family.

This noble reply so forcibly struck the generous Frenchman, that, on meeting him afterwards at lord Dunmore's, he made him a proffer of his purse to release him from his embarrassments; and though it was at this time refused, he afterwards pressed it so urgently, and with such sincerity, on Rodney's acceptance, that the British admiral was by these means restored to his country, to the presence of his sovereign, and to his command in the British navy.¹⁵ That navy is perhaps more indebted to him than to any single man in our annals: one other great commander alone appears as his rival; and his equal he was in courage, in naval skill, in talent for negotiation, and in the eagle eye which lets no opportunity escape. The similarity between the two in these respects is extraordinary: but Rodney preceded Nelson in the adoption of the grand manœuvre which led both to victory; and he restored the British navy, in an almost incredibly short time, from a state of rottenness, physical and moral, to as high a pitch of glory as it ever afterwards attained.

It was not immediately on his arrival in England that Sir George Rodney could obtain the employment which was the object of his ambition: his friend, admiral Keppel, had been appointed to the grand channel fleet, and the admirals Sir Hyde Parker, Barrington, and Byron, to commands on the American and West India stations: he obtained however an audience of the king, who gave him the most gracious reception, and cheered him with an assurance that his anxiety to serve his country should soon be gratified; in earnest of which, he raised him, on the twenty-ninth of June, to the honorable rank of admiral of the white.

During their continuance in winter-quarters at Philadelphia, the British army confined their efforts to predatory excursions, several of which were attended with considerable success. Major Maitland, and captain Henry of the navy, destroyed a large quantity of stores, with forty-four American vessels, which had escaped up the Delaware after the capture of Mud Island: but these unimportant enterprises were not sufficient to compensate for the want of energy displayed by the British commander, whose army spent the winter in

¹⁵ To the credit of the house of Drummond it must be told, that the instant they knew of the *maréchal's* generous conduct, they voluntarily advanced the money, and transmitted it to that nobleman by the earliest conveyance.—*Life of Rodney*, vol. i. p. 185, note.

shameful dissipation, exhibiting a remarkable contrast of great luxury and extreme misery: not only were the sober habits and steady morals of the inhabitants of Philadelphia shocked by the licentiousness of British youth; but gaming was carried to an unwarrantable length, being permitted by the general, and sanctioned by his daily practice. Many officers were utterly ruined, and obliged to sell their commissions in consequence of this fatal frenzy.

In the mean time, the brave Washington was earnestly engaged in recruiting his army; but few could be induced to encounter the severities of winter without any hope of service or probability of relief: desertion among the soldiers was countenanced by frequent resignations among the officers; nor was this calamitous consequence of the parsimony of congress remedied, until the remonstrances of the general induced them to grant half-pay for seven years after the war, which was subsequently extended to the period of life. Washington also remonstrated in the strongest terms against the detention of general Burgoyne's army; representing it as a national act of dishonor, injurious to their cause, in the breasts both of foreigners and their own countrymen: but here he pleaded in vain; congress was determined to obtain a ratification of the treaty of Saratoga: and the principal blame lay on the government, which refused it.

Desirous of embracing the earliest opportunity to counteract the views of France, the British ministry had sent draughts of their conciliatory bills to America, copies of which were put into circulation by Sir William Howe. General Washington transmitted some of them to congress, being apprehensive that the measure might detach adherents from the cause of independence. By his recommendation, a committee was appointed to investigate and analyse these bills; which task they executed in such a manner, as to make the plans of Great Britain appear to centre in dishonesty, and to exhibit her weakness: it was then decreed that any partial convention with the commissioners would render the party or parties engaged in it guilty of treason against the state: no conference was to be permitted, unless, as a preliminary step, the independence of America were acknowledged by a removal of the British fleets and armies from her shores.

These measures fully verified the predictions of a party in the British senate, who forewarned the minister of his failure: nor had the American resolutions long passed, before Mr. Silas Deane arrived with a copy of the treaty of alliance and

commerce between France and the United States. This intelligence occasioned great public rejoicings, and raised the spirits of the people to the highest pitch; while congress asserted, that the British cabinet proposed its conciliatory bills only in consequence of their fears. A partial publication of the treaty was made, ascribing the most noble views to the French monarch, and anticipating the concurrence of other European powers, and the good will of all: in fact, the Americans determined now to refuse, and to fight against, concession: the object of resistance they saw would be conceded; but they refused to acquiesce in an imperfect freedom, when a more perfect one was within their grasp. La Fayette communicated the joyful intelligence to the American commander in chief; public thanks to Almighty God were offered up by the army chaplains; a *feu de joie* was fired; and, on a concerted signal, the air resounded with 'Long live the king of France!'

La Fayette, from the time of his joining the American army, had been panting for some command in which he might have an opportunity of distinguishing himself: on this occasion, the general yielded to his solicitations, and detached him with 3000 men to occupy a post on Barren-hill, seven miles in advance of the camp, and on the opposite side of the river, for the purpose of restraining the British excursions. General Grant, being despatched with 5000 select troops to surprise him in this unfavorable position, reached a point, without discovery, between his rear and Washington's camp. Here the road forked; one branch leading to Barren-hill, about a mile distant; the other to Matson's-ford across the Schuylkill, about the same distance.

In the course of the night, another detachment under general Grey marched along the western bank of the Schuylkill, and posted themselves at a ford about three miles in front of La Fayette's right flank, while the rest of the British army advanced to Chesnut-hill: his retreat was thus cut off from every passage but that of Matson's-ford. The approach of the British was accidentally discovered by a troop of provincial horse, and La Fayette retired with terror and precipitation towards Matson's-ford, through the low woody grounds that flank the river. In vain was this retreat indicated to general Grant, who obstinately persisted in advancing to Barren-hill; and only, when he found it evacuated by the enemy, did he pursue in the same track which they had taken. In their flight across the Schuylkill, the Americans had left six field-pieces; but so dilatory was the pursuit, that they returned, recovered

their cannon, and escaped with a loss of about forty men. At this time, one of the greatest sources of uneasiness to Washington was the number of foreign officers, who annoyed and embarrassed him with their claims for rank, and importunities for service: their pretensions could rarely be gratified, except at the expense of native officers; and the expectants were frequently found to be more distinguished by their own conceit than any other qualification. 'I devoutly wish,' says the general to his friend, Gouverneur Morris, 'that we had not a single foreigner among us except the marquis de la Fayette, who acts on very different principles from those which govern the rest.'¹⁶

Soon afterwards, Sir Henry Clinton arrived at Philadelphia, to take the supreme command of the British army. Sir William Howe had been for some time soliciting his recall, through feelings of resentment for want of confidence reposed in him, and inattention to his recommendations; a charge indeed, which was scarcely justified by the success of his exertions, and the result of his campaigns.

In the month of June, the three commissioners appointed under lord North's bills, the earl of Carlisle, governor Johnstone, and Mr. Eden,¹⁷ arrived in the Delaware. The concessions which they were empowered to tender were so ample, that at an earlier period they could scarcely have been rejected: but it was the misfortune of the British ministers to be always out of season with measures of conciliation. However, they were submitted to the consideration of congress, among whom they produced considerable debates; and on the seventeenth of June, the president returned an answer, in which it was remarked, that the acts of parliament, and other papers emanating from the British administration, were so framed as to imply that the citizens of the United States were subjects of the crown of Great Britain, which never could be admitted: it was farther said, that they would be ready to take into consideration a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already existing, when the king of Great Britain should demonstrate a sincere disposition to that purpose; the only proof of which would be the explicit acknowledgement of American independence by recalling his fleets and armies. In addition to his public exertions as a commissioner, governor Johnstone endeavored to compass the object of his mission by

¹⁶ Life of Gouverneur Morris, vol. i. p. 173.

¹⁷ Afterwards lord Auckland.

opening a private correspondence with some of the members of congress and other persons of influence: in a letter to general Reid, he observed, 'that the man who can be instrumental in bringing all to act once more in harmony, and to unite the various powers which this contest has drawn forth, would deserve more from the king and people, from patriotism, humanity, and all the tender ties that are affected by quarrel and reconciliation, than was ever yet bestowed on human kind.' Under an idea that attempts had been made to corrupt Mr. Reid and others, congress ordered that all letters received by its members or their agents should be laid before them; and in consequence of this and other communications from governor Johnstone to Francis Dana and Robert Morris, publicly produced, resolutions were passed, declaring it to be incompatible with the honor of congress to hold any farther intercourse with the said George Johnstone, Esq.: a copy of these, sent by a flag to the commissioners at New York, produced an angry declaration from that gentleman, denying or explaining away what had been alleged against him. The commissioners, failing in their attempts at negociation, next endeavored to separate the people from their rulers, by a manifesto, declaring, that as the whole contest changed its nature when America formed the unnatural design of estranging herself from the parent state, and mortgaging herself and her resources to the enemies of Great Britain; the question was, how far the latter might, by every means in her power, destroy or render useless a connexion contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandisement of France. General pardons were proffered to all who within forty days should withdraw from the service of congress; and to the colonies at large, or separately, a general or separate peace, with peculiar privileges. Congress immediately declared that the circulators of this manifesto were not entitled to the privilege of a flag, and advised the states to seize and keep them in close custody; but that they might not appear to hoodwink their constituents, they published it in the American newspapers. The people were also exhorted, if the king's troops should begin to burn or destroy any town, to retaliate on the houses and property of all Tories and enemies to American independence, securing their persons, but abstaining from wanton cruelties. Congress also issued a counter-manifesto, extolling its own clemency, and reproaching the British troops with devastating the open country, burning villages, and murdering citizens; while their prisons were represented as the slaughter-houses of soldiers,

and their ships of seamen ; cruel injuries being aggravated by gross insults : in conclusion, they declared, that if the British army dared to execute its threats, or persist in its barbarous career, exemplary vengeance should deter others from similar conduct. Thus ended the last effort of Great Britain to regain her colonies by negociation ; an effort, originating in folly and ignorance ; which tended to cement the friendship of the new allies, and to justify the resistance of the colonists : for by offering to concede all which they at first required, she virtually acknowledged herself the aggressor in an unjust war.

If the treaty with France was calculated to raise the spirits of the colonists, the evacuation of Philadelphia tended to increase the effect. This measure was contemplated as soon as the prospect of a French war opened on the British cabinet ; for a more central situation was desirable for the army.

General Clinton withdrew his troops from the capital of Pennsylvania about the middle of June ; and they were transported across the Delaware without molestation : their march however was encumbered by a large body of royalists, driven to this necessity by the cruel neglect of congress, who, contrary to the humane advice of Washington, adopted no resolution to render their continuance in Philadelphia secure.¹⁸ The army, thus embarrassed, and extending in its march over a space of twelve miles, proceeded slowly : Washington had sent parties forward to break down bridges and otherwise harass them ; but he kept a respectful distance, being suspicious of his wary and skilful antagonist. The American detachments being reinforced by chosen men, general Gates was posted on the opposite bank of the Rariton in front of the British army ; whilst Washington, in the rear and on the left, behind Milestone-creek, was ready to effect a junction : but Clinton escaped the danger of this combination by wisely moving toward Sandy Hook, and passing to the right, instead of crossing the Rariton. When they arrived at a place called Freehold Court-house, near Monmouth, a vigorous attack was made on the baggage by a detachment under general Lee, and was as bravely repulsed : the British light troops impetuously pursued the fugitives until they were met and rallied by Washington himself : to prevent their being cut off, Sir Henry Clinton was obliged to maintain his position under a severe cross-fire ; after which, he withdrew to his former position, leaving about 360 slain on the field : among these was colonel

¹⁸ Washington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 283.

Monckton, an officer so beloved by the soldiers, that during the engagement, and in the midst of a heavy cannonade, his brave followers dug his grave with their bayonets, where he fell, and threw the earth over him with their hands. The loss of the Americans in this engagement was about equal to that of their antagonists. Some idea of the hardships which the soldiers underwent may be formed from the circumstance, that in this engagement fifty-nine of the British troops expired through excessive heat and fatigue, without receiving a wound. Washington, wrapped in his cloak, lay that night in the field in the midst of his soldiers, ready to renew the battle in the morning ; but the British retired. While the British general was preparing to embark at Sandy Hook, his opponent appeared in sight : Clinton waited two days to give him battle, which was declined ; and on the fifth of July the British army reached New York, lord Howe with his fleet being already arrived. Soon after the battle of Monmouth, the American army took up its position at White Plains, on the borders of the Hudson, where it remained till late in the autumn.

General Lee had been sternly reprimanded by Washington, when they met in his late retreat ; and was strongly suspected of intending to cause the defeat of the army, for the purpose of disgracing his rival : in consequence of this, he wrote some petulant letters in vindication of his character, which placed him at the mercy of the commanding officer. Being found guilty by a court-martial, he was sentenced to suspension from his rank for a year ; but in consequence of his ungovernable rashness, he never afterwards attracted honorable notice ; though his abilities were unquestionable, and he had been of great service in disciplining the American troops.

In April a French squadron was fitted out at Toulon, consisting of twelve ships of the line and six frigates, under the command of the count d'Estaing, having on board a large body of troops. Had not tempestuous weather protracted their voyage across the Atlantic to the unusual term of eighty-seven days, the British fleet, under lord Howe, which was inferior both in number of ships and weight of metal, would probably have been captured ; the surrender of the army must then have followed, for admiral Byron's fleet was wholly dispersed and shattered by storms. The French admiral, unable to meet his opponents in the spot most favorable to his designs, sought them in their more defensible post at New York, where lord Howe, who had many qualifications of a great naval

commander, had taken admirable precautions for protecting his fleet.¹⁹ D'Estaing appeared on the eleventh of July; but being unable to carry his heavy ships over a bar which obstructed the approach to New York, he directed his course toward Rhode Island, for the reduction of which a plan had been concerted; general Sullivan, with 10,000 men, being ordered to pass over from the continent and attack the British lines at Newport, in which 6000 troops were intrenched, while the French fleet assailed them on the opposite side.

Lord Howe, being soon afterwards joined by three ships from admiral Byron's squadron, carrying respectively seventy-four, sixty-four, and fifty guns, determined, although still inferior to the enemy in weight of metal,²⁰ to sail out, and try the fortune of war. On his appearance off the harbor of Newport, the French admiral put to sea to engage him; and whilst the two commanders were exerting all their skill to gain the advantages of position, a violent gale of wind came on, which greatly damaged the fleets of each. The Languedoc, of ninety guns, d'Estaing's own ship, after losing her masts and rudder, had nearly fallen a glorious prize to captain Dawson in a fifty-gun ship, when six French ships of the line appeared, and averted the otherwise inevitable fate of their admiral: in the same way, the Tonnant, of eighty guns, with only her main-mast standing, was rescued from commodore Hotham, who was in another fifty-gun ship. No capture was made on either side; but though the British suffered much less than the enemy, they were constrained to return to New York for the purpose of refitting their ships. The French fleet came to anchor near Rhode Island on the twentieth, with a determination to sail for Boston: before this design was put into execution, general Greene and La Fayette went on board the Languedoc, anxious that d'Estaing should bring his fleet into Newport harbor: but his principal officers were averse to the measure; and he had been instructed to repair to Boston if his ships met with any misfortune: he therefore persisted in following the precise letter of his instructions, and on the twenty-second again set sail. Lord Howe, having repaired his damages, soon followed him to Boston harbor; but found the French fleet so pro-

¹⁹ His force consisted only of six ships of sixty-four guns, three of fifty, and two of forty. It is astonishing that our naval officers in those days could make head against the bad management of the admiralty.

²⁰ One of d'Estaing's ships carried ninety guns, another eighty, six seventy-four, and three sixty-four.

tected by land batteries, that he saw no prospect of a successful attack. The arrival of admiral Byron, no long time afterwards, caused the chief command to devolve on him, when lord Howe returned to England.

General Sullivan had already broken ground against the British troops on Rhode Island; but the departure of the French fleet so reduced his chances of success, that he was deserted by the volunteers, of whom half his force consisted, and found it necessary to retreat to the northern part of the island. Being pursued by the British, a partial engagement took place, in which more than 200 fell on each side: on the thirtieth of August, as lord Howe's fleet, with Sir Henry Clinton on board, appeared in sight, he retired during the night, and evacuated the island altogether.

The conduct of d'Estaing gave great offence to his allies: had he prosecuted the plan originally laid down, the reduction of the British station on Rhode Island would probably have ensued; but by sailing out of the harbor in the first instance to engage the British fleet, and in the second by refusing to re-enter it, he frustrated the whole course of operations. The Americans justly complained that they had incurred great expense and danger, under the prospect of his effective co-operation; and were abandoned on an island, without naval protection, to a large force of their enemies by sea and land. Still they could not hide from themselves, that the arrival of the French fleet was of great service to their cause: beside deranging the plans of their antagonists, it convinced the people that his most christian majesty was seriously disposed to support them; and thus they were encouraged to persevere in the war, from the hope that better fortune would attend their future exertions.

The operations of the British army at New York during this campaign were successful, though on a small scale. Major-general Grey destroyed, in Plymouth county, almost 100 vessels of various sizes, with all the magazines and stores in those parts: from a small but fertile island, called Martha's Vineyard, he carried off the astonishing quantity of 10,000 sheep and 300 oxen, exacted from the inhabitants, for supplies to the British troops at New York. This officer soon afterwards gained an unenviable trophy by surprising a regiment of American light horse, called Baylor's regiment, in a detached situation near Tappan. His men proceeded with such silence and address, that they cut off a sergeant's patrol without noise, and came on the unfortunate regiment immersed in

sleep, and incapable of defence or resistance. The British, rushing on them with the bayonet, put a considerable portion to death, wounded many more, and took the rest prisoners.¹

A British squadron was also sent against Egg-harbor on the coast of New Jersey, a noted rendezvous for privateers: the troops were landed, and ten prize vessels scuttled by the Americans were destroyed; also some extensive salt works, and the stores and houses of many persons belonging to what was called the whig party. A detachment under captain Ferguson, guided by the information of deserters, surprised and cut to pieces part of the Polish count Pulaski's legion: few escaped with life, and five only were made prisoners. On the return of the squadron to New York, the British army was withdrawn from its forward position, and placed in winter-quarters: Washington moved his troops to Middlebrook in New Jersey, where they built huts like those at Valley Forge.

The above instances of merciless warfare by the British troops were far surpassed by the ferocity of the savages, induced to make incursions against the back settlements by American loyalists or tories. The beautiful and flourishing settlement of Wyoming, which had been peopled by the overflowing population of Connecticut, was the first doomed to suffer from that exterminating spirit which too often disgraces humanity. The fine river Susquehanna runs through this district, which possessed such great advantages of soil and climate, that although occupied only since the last war, it had become extremely populous; insomuch that it had sent 1000 men to serve in the American armies. The weak state of defence in which the settlement was left being reported to colonel Butler, who had been employed as an agent among the northern Indians, and who had sometimes acted as their leader, he immediately led a body of about 1500 men, part savages, and part disguised as such, against this hitherto happy district, which was guarded by four forts: the first of these, being occupied by a party chiefly of tories, was voluntarily surrendered: the second was taken by storm, and the men all murdered with many aggravations of cruelty; but the women and children were spared. Under pretence of a parley, Butler drew the principal officer and great part of his men out of the

¹ This massacre was the subject of much complaint: the particulars were ascertained on oath before governor Livingston, and submitted to public judgment; but, after all, its atrocity was greatly exaggerated.

third, into an ambuscade, where almost all were cut to pieces: he then invested the fort, thus rendered incapable of defence; and to appal the spirits of the wretched garrison, he sent them 200 gory scalps of their murdered comrades and relations. When the besieged begged to know what terms he would grant them, the monster replied, 'the hatchet.' Despair caused the place to be defended a short time longer, but it at length surrendered at discretion; and the conquerors, weary of manual cruelties, after selecting a few from the sacrifice, shut up the rest, without distinction of age or sex; and setting fire to the building, enjoyed a satanic pleasure in the piercing cries of their tormented victims. The fourth and last fortress was unconditionally surrendered; but most of its inmates suffered a similar fate, being put to death with lingering tortures on the spot, or shut up in the houses, and burned with them. All, except the tory families, were involved in an indiscriminate slaughter: the very land was laid waste; and the cattle that escaped with life had their tongues cut out, or their bodies maimed in some irremediable manner.

On the other hand, an expedition was undertaken by some Americans from the back of Virginia, against a Canadian settlement in the country of the Illinois, which they reduced, and exacted from the inhabitants an oath of allegiance to the United States: the governor, M. de Rocheblave, who had been very active in stirring up the Indians to attack the back settlers, was sent prisoner to Virginia. Another party, eager to revenge the desolation of Wyoming by the savages, penetrated, with uncommon perseverance and contempt of danger, into the recesses whence those fiends had issued: all their caution, however, could not prevent an alarm being spread; so that both Indians and refugees escaped: but their habitations, with all their property and lands, were destroyed and laid waste.

While these horrid scenes were taking place, M. Gerard, envoy to the United States from the court of France, arrived at Philadelphia, from whence the British commissioners had so lately been compelled to withdraw, and whither congress had again returned. In October, instructions were prepared to be sent to Dr. Franklin, as minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles; and the task of making a draught of this first diplomatic document to an ambassador, was confided to Gouverneur Morris, one of the members of congress,² and an intimate friend of Washington.

² Life of Gouverneur Morris, by J. Sparks, vol. i. p. 188.

One of the first consequences to the French from their aggression on the coast of America, was the loss of their privilege of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland: the little islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, granted to them at the peace of 1763, were now recaptured, and the garrisons conveyed to France: this loss however was fully compensated to them on the seventh of September, when the island of Dominica surrendered to the marquis de Bouillé, after the English had expended about £70,000 on its harbor and fortifications. At this time, the communication of intelligence between England and the West Indies was so defective, that admiral Barrington, who was stationed at Barbadoes with a naval force, was first informed of hostilities between his country and France, by a document from Paris, published at Martinique in the middle of August.

The count d'Estaing had long remained inactive at Boston; but at length proceeded to relieve the island of St. Lucie, which was exposed to a combined attack from admiral Mathews, and the generals Grant and Meadows. Though the French admiral carried with him twelve sail of the line, a numerous train of frigates, and American armed ships, with a military force of 9000 men, he was shamefully repulsed in two naval encounters by admiral Barrington, who had only three ships of the line, three of fifty guns, and a few frigates: nor was he more successful in an assault by land on the division of general Meadows; being obliged to retire with a loss of 1300 men, and leave the island to its fate. A surrender was inevitable; and the British commander granted such favorable terms as entitled him to the gratitude of the enemy.

The Americans soon perceived that the French, in espousing their quarrel, chiefly sought their own interest: d'Estaing, before he sailed on this expedition, published a proclamation to the people of Canada, exhorting them to return to their former allegiance; and Washington, through the ascendancy of the French party in congress, was strongly urged to undertake the reduction of that province, in conjunction with a French force: but that prudent general foresaw the danger; and instead of communicating with La Fayette, as directed by the committee for foreign affairs, wrote a long letter to congress, forcibly displaying the impolicy of the measure.³

Soon after the departure of the commissioners, while Washington and Clinton watched each other's motions, and

³ See Washington's Letters, vol. ii. p. 348.

mutually forbore a general attack ; the province of Georgia was successfully invaded by the British : Sir Henry Clinton despatched colonel Campbell with 3500 men, by sea, under convoy of admiral Parker ; and directed major-general Prevost, who commanded in East Florida, to co-operate with these forces. Robert Howe, an American general, had recently made an attack on the last-mentioned province ; but being constrained to retire with loss, he had stationed his small army near Savannah : not having force sufficient to oppose the landing of the British troops, he directed his attention to the security of the town ; but colonel Campbell, having discovered a private path which led through a swamp round the right of the Americans, surprised their rear, and obtained a decisive advantage : he then succeeded in capturing the town, with an abundance of stores ; and being as humane as he was brave, greatly conciliated the provincials by his lenity and moderation. Soon after this action, general Prevost having arrived, took the chief command, and afterwards completed the conquest of the province.

The operations of war, however, were not confined to this quarter of the globe : an engagement occurred in Europe which excited no little animadversion. The high reputation and experience of admiral Keppel having pointed him out for command, he undertook the maritime defence of the country, and sailed from Portsmouth with twenty ships of the line : on the seventeenth of June he discovered two French frigates, *la Licorne*, and *la Belle Poule*, reconnoitring his fleet ; and, though no formal declaration of war had passed, the admiral thought himself justified in attempting their capture : being chased, the first fired both with cannon and musketry, struck her colors, and was taken ; the other, after having fiercely encountered and dismasted a pursuing vessel, escaped among the rocks on the French shore. Keppel, being apprised from the papers of *la Licorne*, and other intelligence, that the enemy had thirty-two sail of the line and twelve frigates ready for sea in Brest harbor, returned to Portsmouth, but not without raising great public indignation and reproaches against himself.

At this alarming crisis, the first lord of the admiralty found himself obliged to make unusual exertions : hastening down to Portsmouth, he sent the admiral out again to sea on the tenth of July, with a reinforcement of four ships of the line, which were speedily followed by six others : by this time the French had put to sea ; and when Keppel fell in with them, four days

were spent in manœuvring off Ushant. The French fleet was commanded by the count d'Orvilliers, and the ducs de Chafault and Chartres; the English by Keppel, Sir Robert Harland, and Sir Hugh Palliser: being on different tacks, the fleets sailed in opposite directions; and the engagement lasted three hours, at the end of which they had passed each other, and the cannonade ceased; but the French, by firing at the rigging, had so crippled the British ships, that when the latter wore, they were unable to stand after the enemy, until the French had, towards the close of the day, formed their line of battle again to leeward of their antagonists. 'This,' said Keppel, after extolling the conduct of his officers, especially of the second and third in command, 'I did not discourage; but allowed them to do so without firing on them, thinking they meant handsomely to try their force with me in the morning: but,' he added, 'they had been so beaten in the day, that they took advantage of the night to go off.' The French commander however declared, that although during the action the English had the advantage, yet, after the firing ceased, he had decidedly outmanœuvred his opponent.

Soon after this engagement, the British admiral returned to port to refit; but put to sea again on the twenty-third of August, and continued afloat till the twenty-eighth of October: but though he had received the approbation of the admiralty, and been graciously distinguished at court, the public agitation did not subside: various anonymous paragraphs appeared in the journals; first against the commander in chief, who passed them over in silence: but Sir Hugh Palliser having replied to an attack in a morning paper, which fully stated the transactions of the twenty-seventh of July, and drew obvious conclusions from them; Keppel, though requested by letter, refused to authenticate the answer, and to contradict statements advanced by an anonymous accuser. In a few days therefore Palliser published his own case, which bore hard on his superior officer, whom he charged with inconsistency, for having approved his conduct in a public despatch, and now refused to defend him against a malignant accusation: admiral Keppel, on the other hand, strangely enough considered his official approbation as a mere matter of form, adopted to prevent disunion in the service, and subject to explanation; also as confined to the time of actual engagement, and not extending to acts which had frustrated the well-founded hopes of a renewed conflict. Under these circumstances, he refused to

exculpate the vice-admiral; rather choosing to criminate him, than incur public odium on his own account.

Such was the state of the dispute when parliament met on the twenty-fifth of November. The speech from the throne took very little notice of the war in America, but was loud in complaining of the unprovoked hostility of the court of France; and regret was expressed that the efforts made for disappointing the malignant designs of the enemy had not been commensurate, in all instances, with the justice of the cause, and the exertions made. The addresses of both houses were, as usual, carried by great majorities: but shortly afterwards the attention of parliament was attracted by a motion of the marquis of Rockingham for an address to his majesty, to express regret and displeasure at the dreadful threats denounced against the colonists by the commissioners, who had no authority by act of parliament for their declaration. In the course of an able speech, the noble mover addressed himself in a striking manner to the bench of bishops; observing, 'that the nature and principle of the war were now intirely changed: the right reverend bench, relying on the assurances of ministers, might originally have believed its motives honorable and its object easily attainable: but the same ministers now declared to all the world, that a new policy was to be adopted: America was relinquished; and a new species of war denounced, tending merely and avowedly to revenge, slaughter, and universal destruction. The votes of their lordships on this occasion would at once fully express their detestation of the inhuman system in question; and conjointly with those of the temporal lords, who felt the same sentiments, would obviate its effects.' After a vehement debate, in which the ministers endeavored to palliate what no one dared to defend, the motion was negatived by seventy-one against thirty-seven peers; but thirty-one of these latter, including the names of Rockingham, Camden, Effingham, and Harcourt, joined in a very energetic protest against 'a war of desolation.' The right reverend bench appear to have seen more justice in the arguments of the ministry than in the appeal of lord Rockingham; for the name of only one bishop⁴ was found in the list of signatures. Mr. Coke made a motion for a similar address in the commons, which was rejected by a majority of 209 against 122.

In debating an amendment to the address, Mr. Fox intro-

⁴ Dr. Shipley, bishop of St. Asaph.

duced the subject of the naval dispute, by severe allusions to the disgraceful and dangerous situation of the grand fleet when admiral Keppel first took the command of it; being then inferior by ten ships of the line to that of the enemy. The contest off Ushant came more immediately under discussion when the navy estimates were presented; and Mr. Temple Luttrell called for inquiry, declaring that the nation expected an investigation of the whole transaction: the two admirals were in the house, and were called on to give information, by a regard for their own honor, as well as of the public tranquillity.

Admiral Keppel declared that the glory of the British flag had not been tarnished in his hands: he impeached no man; and was persuaded that Sir Hugh Palliser manifested no want of courage: he hoped he should not be compelled to answer questions relative to the action or individuals; but was ready, if duly required, to explain his own conduct; for nothing was left untried to bring the French to a decisive action: he acknowledged his surprise, at an officer under his command appealing to the public in a newspaper when no accusation was made, and endeavoring to render his superior officer odious and despicable: such conduct was fatal to all obedience and command.

Sir Hugh said he was no less indifferent than his superior officer to investigation, which it was rather his interest to obtain: he censured the admiral's reserve, and wished him to state his sentiments openly, that a full answer might be given to them: he complained, that while justice was rendered to his courage, he was still calumniated in other respects as an officer; he had ineffectually sought an explanation from his chief, and had reluctantly appealed to the public in a statement of facts, by which he was ready to stand or fall; he denied that he had refused to obey signals, and treated all insinuations, or apparent tenderness, with utter contempt.

Admiral Keppel, in his reply, thought that Sir Hugh's appeal to the public fully justified his refusal to sail again with him, and asserted that the signal for coming into the Victory's wake⁵ was flying from three o'clock in the afternoon till eight, unobeyed; yet he did not charge the vice-admiral with actual disobedience: the latter retorted, by charging Keppel with having neglected to arrange his ships in order of battle; so that a general engagement could not be brought on; with having

⁵ Keppel's flag-ship.

neglected to tack and double on the French with his van and centre, after these had passed the enemy's rear; thus leaving the vice-admiral of the blue exposed to be cut off; with having given an opportunity to the enemy of rallying unmolested, and of claiming a victory by standing after the English fleet; and, lastly, with having, on the morning of the twenty-eighth, led the British fleet in an opposite direction, instead of pursuing the French.

These charges Sir Hugh presented at the admiralty, and a court-martial was ordered on Keppel; though the compliance with this requisition was very unpopular, both in and out of the house: a memorial also was signed against it by lord Hawke and eleven other admirals, who strongly reprobated attempts by officers to corrupt the public judgment, through unauthenticated statements in a common newspaper.

After sitting thirty-two days, the court fully and honorably acquitted the accused; affirming, that so far from having sullied the honor of the British navy, he had acted as became a judicious, brave, and experienced officer. His acquittal was followed by illuminations, and other enthusiastic marks of joy on the part of the public: the house of Sir Hugh Palliser was broken open and its furniture destroyed, while he himself was hung in effigy: the dwellings also of lord North, lord George Germaine, and those of some distinguished officers who had given evidence on the court-martial, were exposed to insults; nor were the doors and windows of the admiralty spared: admiral Keppel received also the thanks of the city, and of the two houses of parliament.

His acquittal seeming to cast a stigma on Sir Hugh Palliser, that officer now demanded a court-martial on himself; previous to which he resigned all his offices under government; which voluntary sacrifice frustrated a motion meditated by Mr. Fox for his removal. This court sat twenty-one days, and then declared the behavior of Sir Hugh Palliser in many respects exemplary and meritorious; acquitting him honorably of all charges, except that of not making known to his superior officer the disabled state of his own ship.

Such was the termination of this ill-judged contest, in which both officers appear to have deserved censure: both injured their former reputation; and neither of them ever afterwards engaged in active service. The rejoicings on Keppel's acquittal, and the insults offered to Sir Hugh Palliser, evidently showed the alteration of sentiment which was taking place in the public mind regarding the American war, although mi-

nisters were still able to preserve their majorities in parliament.

In January of this year, 1778, Nootka Sound and the Sandwich Islands were discovered by captain Cook. By a return made to parliament in February, the quantity of gold brought in for recoinage amounted to £15,563,393: the whole expense of recoinage the same was £700,000. In April the Oxford canal was opened at Banbury; and in September the wet-docks at Hull were completed. On the twenty-third of April, a party of adventurers from on board an American privateer, commanded by Paul Jones, landed and burned one of the ships in the harbor of Whitehaven: they had just before landed near Kirkcudbright, and pillaged the mansion of lord Selkirk, carrying off all his lordship's plate. During this year the king attended many military and naval reviews, and paid visits to some of the nobility: he was accompanied by her majesty; and the affable, gracious manners of both, added to the interest they took in various institutions, as well as their public and private acts of charity, tended to confirm and increase in all ranks of people sentiments of loyalty.

CHAP. XXI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1779.

Proceedings of parliament—Attacks on lord Sandwich—Motion respecting contractors—Motion for the removal of lord Sandwich—Investigation respecting the conduct of general and lord Howe, involving the conduct of ministers—Consideration of general Burgoyne's conduct—Riots in Scotland from apprehension of relief to papists—Lord Nugent's motion regarding the trade of Ireland—Relief defeated—Resolution of the Irish merchants—Armed associations in that country, and effects of them—Notice taken of them in the house of lords—Departure of the Spanish ambassador, &c.—Junction of French and Spanish fleets—Motions, &c. in parliament—Bill for the impressment of seamen—French and English fleets in the channel—Termination of the session—Supplies, &c.—Affairs in the West Indies—Loss of St. Vincent's and Grenada—Tobago saved—Naval action—D'Estaing's bad conduct—Seat of war transferred to the southern states—Operations in Georgia—D'Estaing arrives off the coast—Ineffectual attempt to reduce Savannah—D'Estaing returns to France—British incursions against Virginia—Capture of Stony Point and Verplanks—Fortification of West Point—Command given to Arnold—Expedition against Connecticut—Stony Point retaken by general Wayne, but deserted at the approach of the British—British garrison surprised at Paulus Hook—American disaster at Penobscot—Sir George Collier resigns the naval command—Washington's policy—American retaliation on the Indians—Spain attacks West Florida and the British settlements on the Mississippi—She next attacks the logwood cutters in the bay of Honduras—Capture of Omoa by the British—Action between Paul Jones and captain Pierson—Memorial to the States-General—Rodney appointed to the command of the fleet in the West Indies—Prince William Henry sails as a midshipman—Action of admiral Kempenfeldt—State of British government—Meeting of parliament—Changes in administration—Irish affairs.

WE must now return to the proceedings of parliament. Mr. Fox followed up the acquittal of his friend admiral Keppel, by a motion for censure on lord Sandwich, intended as a prelude to another for his removal from office: the alleged reason for this was the inadequacy of the force furnished in the first instance to the British admiral, when ministers knew, or ought to have known, the superiority of the French fleet. It was

answered, that no evidence existed of the fact charged against them : it appeared from the papers of *la Licorne* that the stated number of ships was in preparation, not actually equipped or ready for sea ; as a proof of which, the French did not leave their harbor till a fortnight after the capture of that frigate. The motion was rejected by 204 to 170 ; a smaller difference than had yet occurred on any question regarding the war. Mr. Fox made a second attack against the whole of lord Sandwich's administration, in which he was supported by admirals lord Howe and Keppel ; but the motion of censure was rejected by 246 to 174. Great dissensions were at this time prevalent in the navy, and serious apprehensions entertained of their consequences : a declaration of admiral Keppel, on the last motion of Mr. Fox, that he would not accept any command under the present ministry, tended to increase the flame ; several distinguished officers quitted the service, or declared they could not act under the existing system ; the political parties reciprocally accused each other with having raised this spirit of discord, which remained till the gallant Rodney took the command : it, for a time, impeded even his exertions in the service of his country, and snatched the laurels of victory from his brow ; but it was finally subdued by his powerful mind.

In the month of February, Sir Philip Jennings Clerk, encouraged by partial success on a former occasion, made another attempt to disqualify contractors from sitting in the house of commons ; but he soon found that a change of opinion had taken place ; for his motion was rejected by a majority of 205 to 124. On the tenth of March, Mr. F. Montague proposed a bill for granting farther relief to protestant dissenting ministers and schoolmasters ; which, though opposed by the high church party, was strongly supported by others, on views of political expediency, and passed both houses. The chief business of this session seemed to consist in the discussion of executive conduct : admiral Pigot now made the motion relating to his brother, which has been already noticed ; and on the nineteenth of April, Mr. Fox moved an address to the king for the dismissal of lord Sandwich from his majesty's service, on account of misconduct in office. Mr. Fox, with considerable ingenuity, endeavored to show the difference between his former motions for censure and the present for removal : the former was based on judicial inquiries, while the latter involved a deliberative question of expediency : a motion for censure required the specification and certainty of offences

imputed; that for dismissal from employment might be adopted if the business of the employer could be performed better by another. The whole of the subject lay within a short compass—is lord Sandwich equal to the performance of his official duties with safety and honor to the nation? has he hitherto shown this? what reason is there for supposing, that he who has failed in his past duties will act more ably for the future?

His lordship's defence was chiefly undertaken by lord Mulgrave, who convinced the house that the first lord of the admiralty deserved praise rather than blame; for when he was raised to his present post, there was not a year's timber in any of the yards, no stores in the arsenals, and the whole navy was in a decaying state: by his activity and sagacity he had broken up an injurious mercantile combination; each yard now contained timber for the consumption of three years; the arsenals were full of stores; and the navy in a flourishing state. The motion therefore was negatived.

A similar effort for his removal was made in the upper house by lord Bristol, who argued that the naval service was neglected in all its departments, and vast sums shamefully squandered, without any adequate provision for national defence: the navy had rapidly decayed since the time of lord Hawke, though its expenses had enormously increased.

Lord Sandwich in reply observed, that he was only jointly responsible for the employment of the navy, which was settled in the cabinet, and sanctioned by the king: he was answerable only for the use or abuse of the means placed peculiarly in his hands. He justified the increase of expense by the increased magnitude of the ships in the royal navy, and accounted for temporary wants by the fires that had occurred in the dock-yards. The stores were nearly six times as great as during the administration of his predecessor: at that time ships were built of green timber, and were soon unfit for service; whereas now they were formed of the best materials, and well equipped. The motion was rejected by seventy-eight to thirty-three, with a short protest signed by twenty-five peers, and a longer by the earl of Bristol.

Attacks however still continued to be made on the administration of the navy, and the character of the first lord: in the upper house the duke of Richmond made several motions, and examined several witnesses, reflecting on his lordship's personal character regarding the management of Greenwich-hospital; but, as it has been observed, parliamentary inquiries into the conduct of ministers had now become mere matters of

form: the grossest neglects or mistakes were glossed over by plausibility, and the best-founded charges evaded by round assertions.⁶

Considerable censure having been cast on general Howe, both he and his noble brother took advantage of a committee of the house on the American war, formed on the twenty-ninth of April, to urge an inquiry into their conduct, as the surest means of vindicating their character: lord North replied, that as government had advanced no charge against them, no inquiry for the purpose of vindication was necessary; but though he did not approve, he would not oppose it; and he readily assented to the production of papers: in these was included the whole correspondence between ministers and commanders in America from 1775 to 1778; also documents tending to show the state of the army at different periods; the actual movements and operations, as well as the different plans of action.

Ministers, apprehending that their own counsels, and not the conduct of commanders, was the real object of scrutiny, now proposed that the examination of witnesses should be confined to military affairs; and on the sixth of May, lord Cornwallis, general Grey, Sir A. S. Hammond, major Montresor the chief engineer, and Sir G. Osborne were examined. The result of their evidence was, that the force sent out to the colonies was at no time equal to their subjugation; that the difficulty chiefly arose from a general hostility in the people to the British government, and the natural obstructions of the country: their accounts of particular actions tended to justify the conduct of the general, who also endeavored to prove that he had uniformly stated to the secretary for America the utter impossibility of reducing that country without a larger force; that he had accompanied his proposed plan for the campaign of 1777 with a request for 20,000, or at least 15,000 additional troops, as indispensable; but that the minister had uniformly overrated the number of loyalists, and had not sent a fifth part of the reinforcement required. Concerning the northern expedition, no concert had been proposed between him and general Burgoyne; nor did he suppose that any support was expected from him, until a letter from the secretary, which reached him in the Chesapeake, expressed a hope that he might be able to co-operate.

⁶ Lord North's Administration, p. 348. With regard to Greenwich-hospital, very little attention seems to have been paid to the comforts of its inmates until Rodney was made governor.—See his Life, vol. i. 102—104.

Ministers under these charges proposed also to call witnesses for the vindication of their conduct; the principal of whom were major-general Robertson, deputy governor of New York, and Mr. Joseph Galloway, an American lawyer, who, after having been a member of the first congress, had joined the British army. The testimony of the former of these gentlemen rather expressed general disapprobation of Sir William Howe's conduct, than advanced particular charges; and it appeared, from the post he held, that he had not obtained many opportunities of observing distant operations of the army. Mr. Galloway's accusations included the various topics of error or misconduct which had been so repeatedly alleged against the general; but as he was not a military man, his opinions did not carry with them great authority. One of his assertions, that four-fifths of the Americans were zealously attached to the British government, tended much to weaken the credibility of the rest: had that been the case, not a single British soldier would have been necessary to put down the revolt. Respecting the proceedings of congress, in which he had borne a part, his ignorance was remarkable.

Sir William having requested leave to call witnesses who might controvert Mr. Galloway's assertions, ministers objected to this mode, as productive of too much delay: he was allowed however to cross-examine the witness, and a day for this purpose was fixed; but, not attending at the appointed hour, the committee was suddenly dissolved, and the question at issue left undecided.

Whatever estimate may be formed of Sir William Howe's merit and exertions, the inquiry proved that ministers exhibited both ignorance and mis-statements regarding the sentiments of the colonists; also, that they had not sent to America the force required by the general; nor was it honorable to them, that Mr. Galloway and others received pensions for the part they had taken in this affair: if ministers thought the general innocent, it was worse than mean so to reward his calumniators; if guilty, they ought to have taken farther steps to establish his delinquencies.

During these inquiries, general Burgoyne's conduct also came under consideration. By the examination of Sir Guy Carleton, and other witnesses, it was proved, that in his unfortunate expedition, he had uniformly acted with bravery and skill, and had deservedly endeared himself to his army: no attempt was made to impeach these facts; for ministers feared lest the complete exculpation of the general might involve them

in disagreeable consequences : they manifested a great anxiety to get him out of the country ; and caused repeated notices to be sent to him, that it was his majesty's pleasure he should return to his army at Boston ; when finding it impossible much longer to defer this sentence of exile, he emancipated himself from their authority by throwing up all the appointments which he held under the crown.

Riots, which had arisen in Scotland from groundless apprehensions concerning popery, were by the opposition made subjects of accusation against ministers. The Roman catholic bill, which passed in the last session, excited great alarm in that country, as it was supposed to be the intention of parliament to extend relief to the Roman catholics of Scotland : at Edinburgh and Glasgow, mobs set fire to popish chapels and the dwelling houses of catholics, being abetted in these acts of persecution by zealots of higher rank and education. The sufferers applied to Mr. Burke to present a petition to the house, praying compensation for their losses ; in promoting which, Mr. Burke and his friends ascribed these violent proceedings to the supineness of government, but were unable to establish proof of their assertions.

Very early in the session lord Nugent brought the subject of Irish affairs under the notice of parliament ; stating, that the interruption of American commerce had driven the manufacturers and laborers of Ireland to unexampled distress, lowered the value of lands, prevented the payment of rents, and endangered the whole social system : accordingly, on the nineteenth of January, he gave notice of his intention to move for the establishment of a cotton manufactory in Ireland, with a power of exportation to Great Britain, and an open trade to America, the West Indies, and Africa : a committee was afterwards formed to consider the acts of parliament relating to the importation of sugars to Ireland ; but the intended relief being, as usual, counteracted by the opposition of several mercantile and manufacturing towns, dwindled down to a pecuniary grant, and two acts for encouraging the growth of tobacco and hemp, and the manufacture of linen. The merchants of Dublin, as well as of many other towns and counties, expressed indignation at this unjust, illiberal, and impolitic opposition of self-interested bodies ; and resolved, neither directly nor indirectly, to import or use any British goods, which could be produced or manufactured in Ireland, until a more just and enlightened policy should actuate those who opposed all regulations in favor of the trade of Ireland.

But a far more effectual instrument for loosening the bonds of Irish dependency than the vote of a mercantile assembly, was now prepared: this was the establishment of armed bodies of volunteers, which began to spread themselves over the whole country. Rumors of a meditated invasion by France, the naval superiority of that power, and the diminution of regular force in Ireland by draughts for the American service, impelled the maritime towns to demand protection. Government, pressed on all sides by difficulties, and informed by the lord-lieutenant that the exhausted state of the public revenues rendered it impracticable to embody a militia, told the people, that they must take measures to protect themselves: they obeyed the call with alacrity; and corps were embodied, armed, and disciplined by the people, at their own expense; so that Ireland, in all its provinces, especially those of the south, exhibited the animating spectacle of an armed nation. 'You have sown the serpent's teeth,' said Hussey Burgh, an orator of the day, to ministers; 'and they have sprung up armed men.'

'The war of America,' according to an eloquent writer,⁷ 'was not an ordinary contest, but a struggle for a principle; and the sympathetic influence of that principle was felt by the people of Ireland, even while they armed themselves for defence against those enemies which the struggle had brought against their country, as a part of the empire. 'A voice from America,' to use the animated language of Mr. Flood, 'shouted to liberty:' the shout was eagerly caught by an impoverished people, who saw so close an analogy in their own calamities; and armed as they were for their own defence, they felt that they possessed the power of causing their interests to be consulted by the common government.' And now were seen the effects of that long-sighted policy, which, when lord North asked for 4000 men from the military strength of Ireland, cheerfully granted the request, but steadily refused to have them replaced by foreign mercenaries: in fact, government, though it continued to wield the sceptre, had transferred the sword to its own subjects, and given them the power of vindicating their rights.

When the discussion of Irish affairs ceased in the commons, the marquis of Rockingham introduced it in the house of lords, by moving an address for documents which might enable the parliament to pursue measures for promoting the

⁷ Dr. Miller, in his *History philosophically considered*, vol. iv. p. 468.

common strength, wealth, and commerce of both realms: he took a severe review of the revenue, trade, and government since the year 1755, and inveighed against ministers on the subject of military associations: the necessity of them should have been prevented, or the people should have been legally commissioned, and enabled to bear arms: such combinations would probably repel invasion; but the same spirit might be exerted in resisting oppression and injustice. The address was agreed to; but though two debates ensued, no effectual measure was adopted: the president of the council however went so far as to pledge himself, that a plan for the relief of Ireland should be taken into consideration, to be laid before parliament after the recess.

At a late period of the session, when no farther business was expected, the house of commons was informed that the Spanish ambassador, count d'Almadovar, had withdrawn from London after delivering a hostile manifesto; which, with a message from the king, was laid before the house next day. His majesty declared that he had uniformly and sincerely desired to cultivate peace with the court of Madrid, and that he saw with surprise the misrepresented grievances alleged in justification of its intended hostility: he relied therefore on the zeal and spirit of parliament to defeat the intentions of those who were enemies to his crown, and to the rights and interests of his people. For some time past, Spain, through her ambassador, had been earnestly pressing on the British government her good offices as a mediator; and negotiations had been carried on, with this aim, up to the very time of the count d'Almadovar's departure. Beside the absence of all provocation, she had the strongest political reasons against a rupture with Great Britain, or an alliance with the free spirits of those transatlantic provinces which adjoined her bigoted population. She had no view in extending her commerce, and might have secretly assisted France in clandestine aids and supplies; but the dexterity of this latter power induced her ally to decide in favor of open hostilities: even before the resolution of Spain was formed, France boasted of her success in such a manner as to embarrass the cabinet of Madrid, whose final determination was not marked by the promptitude of vigor, but by the rashness of fear; flying into the arms of danger to escape the horrors of doubt. Five days before he delivered his orders to quit the British court, the count d'Almadovar had not the slightest suspicion that his diplomatic mission was likely to terminate; and while the French ambassador at Vienna loudly proclaimed the

success of his court, in engaging a new enemy against Great Britain, the Spanish ambassador unreservedly declared that he had not received any communication on the subject.⁸

Preparations for the siege of Gibraltar, which speedily followed this hostile declaration of Spain, showed at once the main object of her wishes, and the bait with which her ambitious ally had tempted her: so far, however, from benefiting her cause by drawing Spain into the contest, she thereby raised the spirits of the British people, with whom a Spanish war, with its rich prospects of plunder, was always popular. The only martial enterprise undertaken by the French in Europe was an ill-digested and inefficient attempt on Jersey; but their fleet, profiting by the absence of the British squadron, had gained the coast of Spain before her manifesto was issued, and had effected a junction with her naval armament.

In the British house of commons, the address to his majesty, on occasion of the Spanish manifesto, was unanimously agreed to; and a second, moved by lord John Cavendish, requesting the king to bring together his fleets and armies, and exert the whole national force against the house of Bourbon, was rejected. In the upper house, lord Abingdon, convinced that the grievances of the people could only be removed by the expulsion of ministers, moved an amendment to that effect, which was lost; as also was another not much differing from it, proposed by the duke of Richmond and supported by lord Shelburne. One of the measures proposed by administration for the approaching crisis, was a bill for doubling the militia, and enabling individuals to raise loyal corps. This was combated, as a measure indicative of national weakness, and oppressive to the country; but though it passed the commons, the clause regarding the militia was rejected in the lords by a considerable majority: when it came back, the lower house was twice divided by attempts to reject it, as a money-bill unconstitutionally amended by the lords; but these efforts were ineffectual.

At a late hour of the night on the twenty-third of June, Mr. Wedderburne moved to bring in a grievous bill for removing difficulties in manning the navy, by resuming protections granted to certain descriptions of seamen, watermen, and their apprentices; and by taking away their right of habeas corpus from all persons of those classes impressed since the delivery of the royal message regarding Spain: the motion at so late

⁸ Adolphus, vol. ii. 148.

an hour was intended to prevent disclosure, and obtain an ample supply of seamen for the fleet. The principle of this bill did not escape severe animadversion, as a violation of sacred rights, and a treacherous irruption into the dwelling-houses of citizens; but it passed both houses, though not without two protests from that of the lords. At this period, the impressment of seamen was often accompanied by circumstances of treachery and cruelty, disgraceful, not only to civilised society, but to human nature. Large subscriptions were entered into for giving bounties to sailors, especially by the East India company; which also undertook to build and equip three new ships of the line for the royal navy.

But no exertions could raise the British fleet to an equality with the combined squadrons opposed to it: these, amounting to more than sixty sail of the line, with almost an equal number of frigates and smaller vessels, steered for the channel, where Sir Charles Hardy, who had been taken from the command of Greenwich-hospital to succeed Keppel, was cruising with a fleet of thirty-eight ships of the line, and something less than its due proportion of frigates. The enemy passed him about the middle of August, without either party discovering the other, and proceeded as far as Plymouth, where they created general alarm, and captured the *Ardent* of sixty-four guns, which mistook them for the British. It was afterwards discovered, that a place so important as Plymouth had been so neglected as to be utterly incapable of making any effectual defence: the cannon balls were found too large for the bore of the guns; even flints for the muskets were wanting; and the future navies of the country were exposed to the destroying vengeance of its rival. Supineness or powerful applications are said to have suppressed all judicial inquiry into the causes of this neglect.⁹ On the last day of August, Sir Charles Hardy endeavored to entice the enemy into a narrower part of the channel; but they declined a combat: their crews were said to be sickly, their ships in bad condition, and their commanders influenced by jealousy. As the season too for equinoctial gales was fast approaching, the count d'Orvilliers thought it prudent to quit the channel early in September, with the disgrace of having effected no other purpose, except that of mortifying the pride of Britain by menacing her shores. Happily, a defect of intelligence, or of mutual confidence, in the combined squadrons, supplied every ministerial neglect, and saved the

⁹ Lord North's Administration, p. 367.

country from a calamity, which might have shaken, not only the administration, but the throne itself.

The session of parliament terminated on the third of July: the supplies for 1779 had been stated by the ministers, earlier than usual, on the twenty-fourth of February; so that no provision was made for raising a force against the attacks of Spain. The services of the year were then estimated to require £15,729,654. The number of seamen was augmented to 70,000, and the land forces to 30,346. The annual interest, payable on money borrowed, amounted to £472,500; to raise which an additional duty of five per cent was laid on the full produce of the excise; beer, ale, soap, candles, and hides being excepted; a tax on post-horses of one penny per mile; and an additional duty of five per cent on cambrics:¹⁰ £60,527 was this year appropriated to the relief of American refugees.

Meanwhile the transatlantic war was carried on with various success: the junction of admirals Byron and Barrington reduced the count d'Estaing to act on the defensive; so that during five months no invitation or insult could draw him from his retreat at Martinique. In this interval both fleets received reinforcements, the English under admiral Rowley, and the French under count de Grasse: they remained however inactive, till a valuable fleet of homeward-bound merchantmen, collected at St. Christopher's, drew admiral Byron from his station, in order to convoy them to a certain latitude: this gave d'Estaing an opportunity of despatching a force against the island of St. Vincent's, where the disposition of the French inhabitants, and of the native Caribbs, who had not forgotten past injuries, was well known. The colony had refused all assistance toward establishing a military force; and the English troops were composed, according to the governor's own expression, 'of the scum of the earth, the refuse of the metropolis, and the sweeping of jails.' Such heroes were ill-calculated to oppose a numerous body of highly-disciplined French troops, who, as soon as they disembarked, were joined by the Caribbs, and forced the governor to capitulate. The good fortune of France now prevailed: la Motte Piquet arrived about this time with another reinforcement; which induced d'Estaing to undertake an expedition, with his whole fleet and 10,000 land forces, against Grenada. The fate of this island, which had but a small garrison, and about 400 militia, principally Frenchmen, was inevitable; but the reso-

¹⁰ Lord North's Administration, p. 353.

lute defence made by lord Macartney, in hope of succor, protracted it, until d'Estaing, unwilling to sacrifice time, stormed the lines, and obliged his opponents to retire into the fort: having then forced a height which commanded it, and turned their own cannon against the British, he insisted on such insolent terms, in answer to the governor's offer of capitulation, that the latter preferred to surrender at discretion; so that the conqueror, irritated by a series of adverse fortune, and entertaining a personal hatred against the English nation,¹¹ sullied his victory by allowing the troops to plunder without restraint.

The return of the British fleet, under admiral Byron, was too late to save this valuable possession; but it interposed seasonably for the relief of Tobago, the only possession now remaining to England of all the islands ceded to her by the treaty of 1763. A partial engagement ensued; for d'Estaing, notwithstanding his superiority, avoided a close and general conflict: many of our ships however suffered considerable damage, and the admiral received a slight wound; but their antagonists were said to have had 1200 men killed and 2000 wounded. D'Estaing, foiled in all his attempts to cut off the transports and disabled ships, retired in the night to Grenada, to the astonishment of the British admiral, who, with a very inferior force, had calmly awaited an attack which he considered inevitable. D'Estaing's alarm was so great, that he would not venture to take possession of two ships of the line, the *Lion* and the *Cornwall*, which lay dismasted between the fleets: he afterwards appeared off *St. Christopher's*, but without daring to attack the British fleet, which was drawn out to receive him. He showed great inattention to seize any advantage; for there is little doubt, but that, if he had proceeded immediately to *Jamaica*, he might have detached that valuable island, which was in a very weak state of defence, from the crown of Great Britain, and added it to France: he diffused, indeed, a general panic throughout the West Indies, boasting that he was resolved to subdue every island, and was prepared with articles of capitulation for each; but he soon relieved the inhabitants from their fears, by retiring to *Cape François* in *Hispaniola*.

The contrivers of a plan, which is persisted in as practicable notwithstanding all failures, must rest their ultimate hopes on a change of system or of means: hence it happened, that an

¹¹ He had broken his parole in the last war, and subjected himself to the severe reproaches of British officers.

alteration of schemes, or a system of experiments, was one of the grand characteristics of this war. The northern colonies first afforded an arena for the conflict; next the middle provinces; and it was expected that disappointments there would be compensated by victories in the southern states: these, indeed, not only produced the most valuable and abundant articles of commerce, but were believed to contain a much larger proportion of loyal inhabitants than were to be found in the northern colonies: to this quarter, therefore, it was resolved to direct our efforts; and during the remainder of the contest, Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia became the principal scenes of active operations.

In the former of these provinces, as we have already seen, the first essay had been lately made; for though in itself it was neither large nor powerful, yet it possessed importance as a granary to the invaders, and as a road to farther progress.

After Lower Georgia had submitted to colonel Campbell, and a large majority of its people had returned to their allegiance, that able officer resolved to prosecute his success by an advance into Upper Georgia, where many were reported to be attached to the king's government, and only wanted the support of his troops to declare their sentiments: in this expedition he met with few interruptions; and on his approach to Augusta, the second city of the province, a body of provincials, under brigadier-general Williamson, quitted the town, and retired across the Savannah. From Augusta he despatched lieutenant-colonel Hamilton toward the frontiers of Carolina, to encourage the loyalists there by an assurance of protection.

Alarmed at this rapid progress of the royal army, the provincials made dispositions for arresting it. General Lincoln soon arrived with a considerable force, on the northern bank of the river; and colonel Campbell, not finding Augusta tenable, retired on Savannah; while Lincoln marched along the northern bank of the river, with a view to cross it and reconquer Georgia: in the mean time, general Prevost thought this a good opportunity for surprising Charleston; and on the tenth of May, having reached Astley's-ferry, he crossed the river, and appeared before that city the following day: on the twelfth it was summoned to surrender, but to no purpose. The general, having viewed the lines, which could not be forced without a great loss of men; knowing also that the garrison was more numerous than his troops, and that general Lincoln was hastening to its relief, retired towards Georgia, took possession of John's island, which was separated from the continent by a

small inlet of the sea, and there posted himself until ammunition should arrive from New York. Hearing however that Lincoln was advancing to Lower Georgia, he departed for Savannah, to defend the fortress, leaving colonel Maitland in command of John's island, with a mixed garrison of about 800 men. General Lincoln, being apprised of the weak state of this force, advanced on the twentieth of June with about 5000 men to cut it off. An attack on the British piquets first gave the alarm, and colonel Maitland immediately despatched two companies of Fraser's highlanders to observe the motions of the enemy. The impetuous valor of these mountaineers hurried them on too far, and their indignant courage forbade them to retreat, though surrounded by superior forces: falling in with the left wing of the provincials, they charged with their claymores, and continued the conflict until all their officers were killed or wounded; and of the two companies only eleven men effected a retreat. This success encouraged the Americans to attack the British lines; and a regiment of Hessians had already given way, when the remaining companies of the highlanders, determined to avenge their fallen comrades, valorously stayed the progress of the assailants, and gave a turn to the fortune of the day. Colonel Maitland, skilfully seizing the happy moment, rallied the retreating Hessians, and routed the enemy; who, being dispirited by this unsuccessful attack, attempted no farther operations, until d'Estaing, having been informed of the posture of affairs by the French consul at Charleston, and the governor of Carolina, suddenly arrived on the coast with twenty sail of the line, two fifty-gun ships, and eleven frigates. His appearance was so unexpected, that the *Experiment*, of fifty guns, and three frigates, fell into his possession.

Informed of the arrival of this powerful auxiliary, Lincoln hastened to join the French forces in the vicinity of Savannah, for the defence of which general Prevost made all possible preparations, and despatched orders for colonel Maitland to join him. D'Estaing, before the arrival of general Lincoln, demanded the surrender of the city to the arms of France; but its commander, declining to answer a general summons, requested a suspension of arms for twenty-four hours; which was inconsiderately granted by d'Estaing, under an idea that this period was required for the purpose of drawing up terms of capitulation: meantime, colonel Maitland, having made a rapid march, arrived at Savannah; and the general declared his resolution of defending the place to the utmost extremity. Lin-

coln having also joined the French troops, the combined armies made dispositions for carrying on the siege: ground was broken on the twenty-third of September, and on the fourth of October the batteries were opened; when a request was made, that the women and children might be permitted to leave the town, to be placed on board vessels in the river, and there await the issue of the siege: but this request was cruelly refused by one, who now proved himself as deficient in humanity, as he had before shown himself destitute of honor.

On the morning of the ninth, d'Estaing made an attack on the British lines: two feigned assaults were intended to draw attention to the centre and left; while the main body, in two columns, turning the right of the British, should attack the rear. As operations commenced before daylight, one of these columns, mistaking its way, became entangled in a morass near the fortress and exposed to its fire, which at daybreak was so hotly poured into its embarrassed ranks, that immense numbers were destroyed, and the rest unable to form; meanwhile, d'Estaing himself, with the other column, advanced against a redoubt; a desperate conflict ensued, and for a few minutes the French and American standards were planted on the parapet: colonel Maitland then, seizing the critical moment, ordered the grenadiers of the sixtieth regiment, with the marines, to charge the enemy, already staggering under the obstinate fire of the redoubt, the different batteries, and the *Germaine*, armed vessel: this well-timed movement decided the contest; the assailants were driven out of the fosse, and routed with terrible slaughter, leaving behind them in killed and wounded 637 French, and 264 Americans; d'Estaing and the count Pulaski being both wounded, the former slightly, but the latter mortally. The issue of this battle determined the siege: the allies immediately separated; the provincials almost universally went to their homes; while d'Estaing re-embarked his troops and artillery: his fleet was subsequently dispersed by a storm; when he himself sailed with a part of the ships, and very few acquired laurels, to France; the rest returned to the West Indies. In Africa, the French wrested from Great Britain the important settlement of Senegal, which had been taken from them in the year 1758; but this was more than counterbalanced by our victories in the East Indies.

In other parts of America, the British fleet and army were employed in desultory operations, for the purpose of cutting off the resources of the enemy, and pursuing the resolution

expressed by the commissioners, 'of making the colonies as little available as possible to their new connexions.' The middle provinces were exposed to the incursions of a detachment under general Mathews, assisted by the fleet, at this time under the command of Sir George Collier, a distinguished officer, who had succeeded admiral Gambier: their first attempt was an expedition to the Chesapeake, and a descent on Virginia, where they demolished Fort Nelson, the grand defence of the American dock-yard at Gosport, which they burned, with all its timber and stores: a similar scene of destruction was exhibited at the town of Suffolk, at Kempe's Landing, Tanner's Creek, and other places; so that the damage done to the provincials in this quarter alone was estimated at half a million sterling: they themselves, on the approach of the invaders, set fire to a ship of twenty-eight guns, ready for launching; also to two French merchantmen with their cargoes on board; beside which, eight other ships of war on the stocks, and several merchantmen, were burnt by the British troops; the whole number of vessels taken or destroyed during this short expedition amounting to 137. On the return of the troops and squadron from Virginia, they were joined by another detachment under general Vaughan; and proceeding up the North river, accompanied by Sir Henry Clinton, they carried with great gallantry the two posts of Stony Point and Verplank, the vast importance of which will be estimated by a description of their position.

Immediately after the ravages committed in these quarters by general Vaughan, Washington had taken measures for obstructing the navigation of the Hudson against the British by an insurmountable barrier: for this purpose, commissioners were appointed to examine the passes of the high lands; and a promontory on the west side of the river, near Fort Montgomery, called West Point, was selected: the Hudson here takes a short bend from east to west, and is considerably contracted in its channel: this defile was accordingly defended by a strong boom thrown across it, and by a range of fortifications ascending to the highest cliff, on which was erected the strongest work, called Fort Putnam; so abundantly stored with all the munitions of war, as to be made the grand arsenal of the provincial army: eighteen miles below West Point were erected the two forts of Stony Point and Verplank, on the east and west banks of the river, protecting a passage over it, called King's-ferry: these were esteemed the dependencies of West Point, and contributed with that almost impregnable

post to form the key of the northern provinces. The important command of West Point had been committed to major-general Howe, a veteran officer, in high favor with Washington, a rigid disciplinarian, and an engineer of the first reputation; by whose consummate skill the works had been completed. Soon after the period of which we are now speaking, general Howe, being desirous of more active service under Washington himself, the important command at West Point was conferred on general Arnold; who, being mutilated by wounds received in several gallant actions, wherein he had borne a distinguished part, was thought worthy of this high honor; whilst the approbation of congress and the applause of the people fully sanctioned Washington's choice. We have been particular in this description, because it is connected with one of the most deeply interesting events which occurred during the war.

About the time when the expedition against these posts took place, governor Tryon, supported by Sir George Collier, advanced on Connecticut, which, abounding in men and provisions, was a great support to the American army: the expedition was intended to convince the colonists that this favored province was not unassailable, and to force general Washington from his strong position into the low country, for the defence of the coast. The British troops first attacked New-haven, where they took or destroyed the artillery, ammunition, and stores, with all the vessels in the harbor; but they spared the town with commendable humanity. From thence they proceeded to Fairfield, where, meeting with a more determined resistance, they laid the place in ashes: they also in this excursion burned East-haven, Greenfield, and the flourishing town of Norwalk, together with numerous ships and whale-boats, either finished or on the stocks, as well as immense stores of merchandise and other materials. A descent on New London was intended, but postponed; and the fleet fell back on Long Island, to wait for an additional supply of troops and ammunition. Congress, on receiving attestation of the ravages committed in this and other expeditions, directed the marine committee to take effectual measures for carrying into effect their manifesto of October 30, 1778, by burning or destroying towns in Great Britain or the West Indies; but the resolution was never carried into effect. Neither was the spirit of the American revolvers daunted by these losses; though it had been supposed, that by involving them in distress, they would be induced to submit to a power, which possessed such

terrible means of annoyance : but the temper of the times was unfavorable to these views ; the national mind had been worked up to so high a tone, that property comparatively lost its value, and men began even to glory in their sufferings for the cause of independence.

It was not long before a gallant and successful attempt was made by general Wayne to retake Stony Point, the works of which had been greatly strengthened by orders of Sir Henry Clinton : the greater part of the base of this height was washed by the Hudson, and the remainder covered by a morass, through which there was only one crossing-place : on the summit of the hill was a fort, mounted with heavy cannon ; breast-works were advanced in front of the principal defence ; half-way down there was a double row of abattis ; and in addition, several British vessels of war in the river commanded the ground at the bottom of the height. Washington considered the recovery of this post of primary importance ; and on the fifteenth of July, the provincial troops, having left Sandy Beach at noon, arrived in its vicinity about eight o'clock in the evening : their measures had been so well taken, that every person was secured who could give intelligence of their movements ; and the hour of midnight was fixed on for the assault. At half-past eleven the Americans advanced in two columns, with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets : a forlorn hope of twenty men preceded each, to remove the abattis and other obstructions : the marsh was reached by them undiscovered ; the troops rushed to the charge, under a terrible fire of musketry and grape-shot ; and overcoming every obstacle, forced their way at the point of the bayonet ; so that without firing a gun they took possession of the fortress. In the attack, general Wayne was wounded by a musket-ball, which grazed his skull : he fell ; but instantly rising on one knee, exclaimed, ' Forward, my brave fellows, forward ! ' Supposing himself mortally wounded, he requested his aides-de-camp to carry him into the fort, that he might die on the spot so gloriously conquered : but he recovered ; and for this exploit, received the thanks of congress, with a gold medal.

Stony Point being thus taken, the captors turned its artillery against Verplank's Point, on which they fired with such effect, that the shipping in its vicinity cut cables and fell down the river. As soon as news of these events arrived at New York, preparations were made to relieve the latter post, and recover the former : it did not however suit the cautious prudence of Washington to risk an engagement for the sake of either ; he therefore removed the cannon and stores, and de-

stroyed the works, as far as time allowed; but Sir H. Clinton regained Stony Point three days after its capture, and placed therein a strong garrison.

The successful enterprise of general Wayne was followed by the surprise of a British garrison at Paulus-hook, on the Jersey coast; this was effected on the seventeenth of July, by 350 men under major Lee, who killed about thirty, and took 160 prisoners: from this post, however, they were speedily expelled, without having destroyed either the barracks or artillery. 'Their retreat,' as Sir H. Clinton observed in his despatch, 'was as disgraceful, as their attack had been spirited and well conducted.' But all these trifling advantages were more than counterbalanced by the disaster which befell the American troops at Penobscot. General Maclean had been despatched with 650 men from Halifax; and on the sixteenth of June, he began to construct a fort on the Penobscot river: this occasioned such alarm at Boston, that the executive government, by an embargo and large bounties, collected a squadron of nineteen armed vessels, with twenty-seven transports, carrying 3000 troops, to attempt its destruction: the British commander was apprised of their intention only four days before their arrival off Penobscot; and though his works were very incomplete, he succeeded in keeping his formidable antagonist at bay for the space of twenty days; while he not only pushed on his fortifications, but harassed the enemy by continual attacks and alarms. At length he obtained information from a deserter, that on the ensuing day a general attack was intended: every preparation was made to receive it; but in the morning, the garrison had the satisfaction to perceive the enemy deserting their works, and shipping their artillery. The cause of this sudden movement, was the appearance of Sir George Collier, in the *Raisonné*, of sixty-four guns, with five frigates. The Americans at first made a show of resistance, in order to allow their transports time to move up the river and land their troops; but Sir George easily took or destroyed the whole of their armed vessels; whilst their troops, being landed in a desert country, without provisions, and near 100 miles from any human habitation, suffered the most distressing calamities: proceeding to contentions among themselves, they lost fifty or sixty of their number in civil strife; and a large proportion perished miserably in the woods. This exploit terminated Sir George Collier's career. At the period when admiral Arbuthnot arrived to take the command, a report that d'Estaing meditated an attack on

New York, induced Sir H. Clinton to concentrate his forces, and even to evacuate Rhode Island.

In the midst of these various operations, general Washington was frequently called on for troops; but he had few to spare; and, had he divided his army, conformably to the wishes of each invaded and distressed colony, he would have subjected his whole force to be cut up in detail: besides, he apprehended that a main design of his antagonist in these movements was to draw off a large portion of his army from West Point, and favor an attack on that important position. The American general Parsons, though closely connected with Connecticut, where the inhabitants were almost in a state of revolt, through the apparent neglect of Washington and congress, instead of pressing the commander for troops, wrote to him in the following patriotic terms:—‘The British may probably distress the province exceedingly by the ravages they will commit; but I would rather see all the towns on the coast of my country in flames, than the enemy in possession of West Point.’ In fact, whatever position Washington selected during the contest for his head-quarters, on that appeared to hang the destinies of his country.

In the mean time, the war of devastation was carried on between the Americans and their Indian neighbors: the former had much to revenge; and the retribution they now took was not inferior to the occasion of it. General Sullivan was placed at the head of 5000 men for this purpose, and the savages marched boldly towards the frontiers of their country to meet the invaders; but after an obstinate and bloody conflict on the twenty-ninth of August, they found themselves unable to resist such a force, and abandoned their settlements to the havoc that ensued: eighteen of their towns were laid in ashes, and more than 150,000 bushels of corn destroyed: their gardens were all laid waste, and even the fruit-trees cut down: nothing was suffered to remain that could serve for human sustenance. While this terrible chastisement was inflicted on the tribes northward of Pennsylvania and New York, similar expeditions were sent out, for the same purpose, from the southern provinces.

As Spain had acted very insidiously in Europe, concealing her hostile intentions until her preparations were completed, it was not surprising to see her commencing hostilities on the other side of the Atlantic, with all the advantages of early information and previous design. As soon as war was announced, Don Bernardo de Galves, governor of Louisiana,

made an incursion into West Florida, and invested a fort built to defend the frontier, near the mouth of the Ibberville: this he captured after a siege of nine days; and in its fall was involved the fate of all the British settlements on the Mississippi.¹²

With similar alacrity the Spaniards commenced hostilities against the British cutters of logwood in the bay of Honduras, taking many prisoners, whom they treated with great barbarity, while they expelled the remainder from their principal settlements at St. George's Key. Governor Dalling despatched captain Dalrymple to the Mosquito shore to collect assistance in men and arms; and when this officer had completed that part of his task, he met at sea a squadron of three frigates, under commodore Luttrell, with whom, as St. George's Key had been already retaken, he concerted an attack on Omoa, the very key to the whole settlement of Honduras. With about 500 men they attempted to surprise the fortress; but being discovered, they were driven to the necessity of making regular approaches: after some days of fruitless labor, they determined to attempt an escalade; but were again discovered, and exposed to a tremendous fire: one ladder was destroyed; but by means of the others, two seamen gained the summit of the wall, and presented their pieces, without firing, till the rest ascended. No persuasions of their officers could keep the terrified Spaniards at their stations; and the governor, humbly supplicating for the lives of himself and his garrison, surrendered his sword with the keys of the fort: the treasure had been removed; but a galleon and other vessels captured in the harbor were valued at 3,000,000 of dollars. The Spaniards offered to redeem at any price 250 quintals of mercury, an article necessary for the purification of their silver ore; and they also made liberal offers for ransoming the fort: but the captors, preferring the public good to private emolument, refused all terms; though they generously restored the plate found in the churches, to procure the ransom of their countrymen taken at George's Key. Their disinterested views, however, for the good of their country were frustrated, owing to the subsequent evacuation of the fort, more on account of its unhealthy situation than the efforts of the enemy.

In general, the commerce of Great Britain was amply protected, while her enemies suffered great losses. The most active

¹² In the ensuing year the Spaniards made a second incursion, and captured Fort Mobile, after an honorable resistance.

American partisan was the celebrated Paul Jones, who, on the twenty-third of September, attacked the Baltic fleet, convoyed by the *Serapis* of forty-four guns, commanded by captain Pierson, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of twenty guns, under captain Piercy: the enemy's squadron consisted of the *Bon Homme Richard* of forty guns, commanded by Jones, two frigates of thirty-six and thirty-two, a brig of twelve, and an armed cutter: when this armament appeared in sight, captain Pierson made a signal for his convoy to disperse and gain the nearest ports, while the two brave commanders encountered the overwhelming force of the enemy. Paul Jones's ship and the *Serapis* were brought into such a situation that the muzzles of their guns came in contact: the desperate contest lasted three hours; during which the *Serapis* was several times set on fire, and all her officers and men stationed abaft the mainmast were blown up by an explosion of cartridges; while the guns in that quarter were rendered unserviceable, and the ship raked fore and aft by another frigate: in this state, captain Pierson was obliged to strike his colors; and the *Countess of Scarborough*, after a conflict no less resolute, also surrendered. The loss on board the *Serapis* was very great; but that of the *Bon Homme Richard* was terrific: all the guns on her lower deck were dismounted; she had seven feet of water in the hold; and her deck streamed with the blood of 336 men, who were killed or wounded in the action: she sank in two days; and her brutal commander suffered several of the wounded to be buried with her in the deep. The prizes were carried by their captor into the Texel; and the king of France disgraced the order of merit by conferring it on this bravo: congress, with more propriety, acknowledged his services by a vote of thanks, and promotion to the command of a new ship, called the *America*. A very strong memorial was presented to the States General by Sir Joseph Yorke, who urged in the most pressing terms, 'That those ships and their crews might be stopped and delivered up, which the pirate Paul Jones, a rebel subject and criminal of the state, had taken.' Their high mightinesses, in reply, strongly indicated their partiality to the American cause; declaring 'that they would in no respect whatever pretend to judge of the legality or illegality of the actions of those, who on the open seas have taken vessels not belonging to the republic, and brought them into its ports; also that they were not authorised to pass judgment on those prizes, or on the person of Paul Jones.'

An avenger however was nigh at hand, who soon brought

the enemies of Great Britain to tremble at her superiority by sea. On the first of October Sir George Rodney was appointed commander in chief of his majesty's Leeward Islands and Barbadoes; and as great anxiety began to be entertained by government for the fate of Gibraltar, besieged by the French and Spanish forces, and reduced to great straits for want of provisions, the admiral proceeded with all haste to Portsmouth in order to expedite the equipment of his fleet; having previously addressed a letter to lord Sandwich, containing many useful suggestions very modestly and unostentatiously offered.¹³ At this time an unusual gloom overspread the public mind, chiefly on account of the humiliating state of our navy, which had so long been accustomed to ride triumphant on the ocean: even the king himself, notwithstanding his many private virtues, began to participate in the unpopularity of ministers, over whose deliberations and plans he was supposed to exert a more than ordinary influence. Under these circumstances, their desire for Sir George to proceed on his mission was naturally great. 'For God's sake,' says lord Sandwich, in his correspondence, 'go to sea without delay: you cannot conceive the importance it is to yourself, and to me, and to the public, that you should not lose this fair wind: if you do, I shall not only hear of it in parliament, but in places to which I pay more attention.'¹⁴ It was a circumstance highly

¹³ See Life of Rodney, vol. i. p. 194. 'On assuming his command,' says his biographer, 'his patience was put to a severe trial by the extraordinary want of diligence in the different public departments at Portsmouth and Plymouth, as well as by the absence of proper zeal and activity in the officers of his fleet; many of whom behaved to him with a marked disrespect and want of cordiality; which, soon after the arrival of the fleet in the West Indies, produced the most serious consequences; and had they not been checked in time by the firmness of the commander, might have produced results most disastrous to the nation.' p. 203. Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, in his entertaining Memoirs, gives the following account of his interviews with Sir George Rodney at this precise period:—'I passed much time with him at his residence in Cleveland-row, down to the very moment of his departure. Naturally sanguine and confident, he anticipated in his daily conversation, with a sort of certainty, the future success which he should obtain over the enemy: and he had not only already conceived, but had delineated on paper, the naval manœuvre of breaking or intersecting the line, to which he was afterwards indebted in an eminent degree for his brilliant victory over de Grasse.' vol. i. p. 319.

¹⁴ Life of Rodney, vol. i. p. 205. Let us be just towards all,

gratifying to the admiral, that he was on this occasion selected by his majesty to introduce his third son prince William Henry, our present gracious sovereign, to the naval service of his country. His royal highness was placed as a midshipman on board the Prince George, bearing the flag of rear-admiral Digby, in order that he might acquire a thorough knowlege of his profession by a practical experience of its duties ; learning how to obey, as well as to command. The wind proving favorable on the twenty-ninth of December, the admiral got the fleet under sail ; and ere ten days had elapsed, he had the good fortune to find himself in contact with the enemy. During the time that he was detained in port, an action, which was well-calculated to raise the drooping spirits of the nation, was fought by admiral Kempenfeldt. That intrepid officer, whose skill in manœuvring a fleet could hardly be surpassed, while cruising with only twelve sail of the line, on the twelfth of December, fell in with the French fleet under the count de Guichen, consisting of nineteen sail of the line, beside two armed *en flute* : having gallantly engaged them, he succeeded, by a masterly manœuvre, in cutting off fifteen of the convoy, having on board 1062 soldiers and 548 seamen : only two of the French ships of war made good their voyage to the West Indies : the rest returned into harbor at Brest.

Although, by not preventing the American contest, the British government gave to the houses of Bourbon an opportunity to display their ambitious designs ; yet by many of its measures, under calamitous circumstances, it had the merit of lessening and counteracting the evils to which it was exposed. In the late campaign, the most threatening which Great Britain ever experienced, she had warded off the dangers that beset her ; and her spirited resistance to a mighty combination commanded the respect of European nations : her resources seemed to grow with her necessities ; and her present

even public defaulters. The following passage in this very letter, will show how difficult at that time it must have been for a man in power to do his duty :—‘ There is another young man of fashion now in your squadron, concerning whom I am tormented to death : I cannot do any thing for him at home ; therefore if you could contrive, by some means or other, to give him rank, you will infinitely oblige me : I mean lord Robert Manners, who is a lieutenant on board the Alcide.’ This however was a most gallant young nobleman, who fell gloriously in his country’s cause at the early age of twenty-four.

exertions tended to inspire hopes of conquest, which were kept alive by indignation and resentment.

Parliament met on the twenty-fifth of November. During the recess some partial changes had taken place in administration: earl Gower, lord president of the council, having resigned that office in disgust, was succeeded by earl Bathurst; the earl of Hillsborough was appointed secretary of state for the southern department, in the room of lord Weymouth; and lord Stormont for the northern, as successor to the earl of Suffolk: but the three chief ministers who presided over the treasury, American affairs, and the admiralty, still retained their offices. Mr. Thurlow had received the great seal, with a peerage, last session; and Mr. Wedderburne obtained the vacant seat of attorney general, to whom Mr. Wallace succeeded as solicitor general. The earl of Carlisle was nominated first lord of trade and plantations.

The most important consequences resulting from the powerful combination formed against Great Britain appeared in Ireland. The insults offered to our coasts, and the alarm excited in the public mind, afforded great encouragement to the volunteer associations in that kingdom: the popular leaders of Irish politics gave every encouragement to these establishments; the duke of Leinster accepted the command of the Dublin corps; and the earl of Charlemont, whose political life was devoted to the interests of his country, became the leader of the whole: in the mean time, the eloquence of Grattan supplied all that was wanted to confirm the new-born patriotism of many who had been habitual supporters of government: by him the glowing ardor of national sentiment was poured into the senate in its most concentrated form; and all the speculations of private interest withered before it.

The prevailing wish was a free trade with all the world; and in support of this pretension public resolutions were passed, and arguments abundantly supplied by the press; while the conduct of the British government, and the commercial spirit of the nation, were reviled in the most acrimonious terms.

On the twelfth of October, the lord lieutenant opened the session of parliament with a very conciliatory speech; assuring the members, that his majesty, amidst all his cares, had directed his attention to the interests and distresses of Ireland; that he had remitted a large sum, in specie, for the defence of the kingdom; and would cheerfully co-operate in promoting the common welfare of all his subjects. While the decline of

the revenue and the arrears of government were noticed, the volunteer associations were approved ; and the attention of the legislature was directed to various domestic regulations ; among others, to the protestant charter-schools, and the linen manufacture.

The address was debated with great vehemence ; the speech being declared by Mr. Grattan to promise much, while it offered nothing ; and some members disclaimed the authority of the lords and commons of Great Britain to interfere at all in the legislation of Ireland : an amendment was carried, ' that in the present posture of affairs temporising expedients were of no avail ; for the nation could only be saved by the grant of free unlimited trade to all her ports.' The address was carried up with great parade and popular acclamation : the duke of Leinster escorted the speaker from the house of parliament to the castle ; the streets being lined with volunteers, armed and in uniform.

Inquiries were next instituted into the pension list, secret service, national debt, money voted for defence of the realm, and the produce of the hearth tax : a committee also was appointed to take the whole state of government into consideration : but fearing some impediment, either from the British privy council, or its supporters in Ireland, regarding the main object of obtaining a free trade, the popular party proposed to keep government in a state of dependence, by passing a money-bill to supply the exchequer for six months only. As this proposal met with strong opposition, the most violent riots ensued ; an immense mob surrounding the parliament house with clamors for a free trade and a short money-bill, insulting the members as they returned from the house, and forcibly binding some by an oath to support their favorite measures : but the fury of this popular storm fell chiefly on Mr. Scott, the attorney general, whose mansion was broken open and reduced to a state of ruin ; while he himself was threatened anonymously with destruction, if he gave his vote against the short money-bill. The civil arm of the law was unable to restrain the tumult : the military force had been superseded by the volunteer associations ; and these latter declined to interfere, except by an unarmed deputation from one of their corps : the attorney general met with little sympathy from the members of the house of commons ; though, after a tumultuous debate, they agreed to address the lord lieutenant for a proclamation to apprehend the rioters : but the short money-bill passed, and even received the sanction of the English privy-council.

CHAP. XXII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1779.

Meeting of parliament—King's speech—Amendment moved to the address—Systematic attack on administration arranged—Efforts of Burke, Dunning, and Fox—Change of principles in lord Lyttleton and Mr. Adam—Duel between the latter and Mr. Fox—Attack on the king's speech by lord George Gordon—Lord Shelburne attacks ministers in the case of Ireland—Communication of papers respecting that country by lord North—Introduces three propositions for the relief of Ireland, &c.—Fails in giving satisfaction—Cry for economy—Cause of economical reform—Duke of Richmond's motion on the subject in the house of lords rejected—Mr. Burke introduces it into the lower house—Meeting in Yorkshire and other counties, &c., to petition for reform—Mr. Burke's motion in the house—His scheme, comprised in five resolutions, is rejected—Lord Shelburne's motion for a commission of accounts rejected—Colonel Barré's motion for a committee of accounts passed with lord North's approbation—Bill for excluding contractors, &c. from parliament rejected—Other motions regarding places and pensions, &c.—Duel between Mr. Fullarton and lord Shelburne—Altercation between lord North and the speaker—Reception of petitions by the house—Debates on them—Mr. Dunning's motions on the increase of crown influence, &c. carried—Illness of the speaker—The house adjourns—Reassembles with altered sentiments—Mr. Dunning's motion for an address to the king—Mr. Adam opposes it—Answered by Mr. Fox—Motion rejected—Subsequent debates, &c.—Change of sentiments in the house accounted for—Lord North's proposal respecting the East India company—Motion by general Conway, &c.—Protestant association—Lord George Gordon—Steps taken to procure a repeal of acts in favor of papists—Riots in London—Meeting of parliament—Conduct of the king—Discussions respecting the interference of the military—Lord Mansfield's opinion—The petitions taken into consideration by the commons—Bill against catholic schoolmasters passed by the lower, but rejected by the upper house—Supplies, &c. for 1780—Rioters tried—Lord George Gordon tried, and acquitted—Dissolution of parliament—New elections—The armed neutrality—Coalition against us in India—State of domestic affairs—Sir George Rodney's success against the Spaniards—Defeats admiral Langara—His humane conduct regarding the prisoners—Relieves Minorca and Gibraltar, &c.—Sails for the West Indies—His actions with the French fleet, &c.—Proceeds to the coast of North America—State of American affairs—Expedition against

South Carolina—Capture of Charleston, and reduction of the province, &c.—General Gates appointed to the American command—Battle of Camden—Conduct of lord Cornwallis—Affairs at New York—Treason of general Arnold, and fate of major André, &c.—Rodney returns to the West Indies—Maritime losses sustained by the British—Domestic affairs.

THE king, when he met his parliament, alluded in his speech to the character of his people as well as that of the war; and trusting in their spirited resistance to the designs of their common enemies, professed his resolution of persisting in the contest, and his expectation of defeating the projects of ambition and injustice: he recommended the state of Ireland to consideration, praised the exemplary conduct of the national militia, and returned his cordial thanks to all his loyal subjects who had stood forward in these momentous times of trial.

An amendment of an extraordinary nature was moved to the address; its purport being to contrast the glorious condition of the country at his majesty's accession, with its present gloomy prospects; and, imputing the alteration to a change in the plans of government, it proposed a return to the old system: the present difficulties, dangers, and disgraces of the country were pointedly brought forward; and it was asserted that nothing but new counsels and new counsellors—a real change, not mere palliatives—could prevent the consummation of public ruin. Opposition, not content with employing all the powers of vituperation against ministers, attacked the throne itself in terms that fell but little short of treasonable menaces. Such intemperate conduct could only be referred to that mortification which they felt at the late ministerial changes, in which his majesty's favor had been confined to those on whom he could rely for co-operation in the plans which he had adopted, and in which he was determined to persist. The speeches of opposition in support of the amendment contained outlines of proceedings which occupied them during the session: a systematic plan of attack on the administration was arranged; and the principal leaders of it were the three distinguished orators, Burke, Dunning, and Fox: the first of these brought all the powers of his expanded and philosophic mind to bear on schemes of political economy; the vigorous and acute intellect of the second, enriched as it was with legal knowledge, and sharpened by forensic contention, was engaged in correcting constitutional abuses, or in supporting constitutional law and practice; while the comprehensive genius, the penetrating sagacity, and the impressive eloquence of Fox, were

actively employed in canvassing the executive conduct of the ministry. The preliminary debates on the address in both houses, producing an extensive discussion of the whole political system, were characterised by efforts of the highest oratorical powers ; but the result was unfavorable to the ablest speakers ; opposition being outvoted by a majority of 233 to 134 in the commons, and eighty to forty-one in the lords.

This preliminary contention was distinguished by a remarkable desertion of party in each house. Lord Lyttleton, who for the last seven years had been one of the most violent partisans of administration, now appeared in the ranks of opposition, and vied with the most bitter railers against the friends whom he had forsaken : in the lower house, Mr. Adam left the minority, to take his place under the ministerial standard : after stating his reasons for changing his political sentiments, he declared that ‘ he could not concur in the pretended necessity of new counsels or new counsellors ; since, among those gentlemen who stood candidates for office, he was unable to single out one by whom the state was likely to be better served than by its present rulers.’ Mr. Fox’s reply, as reported in the newspapers, being thought to convey a personal reflection on Mr. Adam, that gentleman demanded from him a disavowal of it through the same channels of public intelligence ; but such a concession not appearing consistent with Mr. Fox’s notions of propriety, a duel was the consequence, in which the latter was slightly wounded.

The audacious virulence displayed by lord George Gordon would scarcely deserve notice, had it not been a prelude to those disgraceful scenes in which he soon afterwards bore so conspicuous a part. He insisted that the king’s speech was full of impropriety, and deficient in common sense ; that the ministry were no less odious in Ireland than in England ; while the people of Scotland were almost equally prepared to rise in opposition. Adverting to a refusal of government to permit the arming of the inhabitants of Dumfries-shire, he read a letter on that subject to the duke of Queensbury from the secretary at war : then, suddenly apostrophising that minister,— ‘ and you, Charles Jenkinson,’ he exclaimed, ‘ how durst you write such a letter ? Robert Bruce would not have dared to write such a one ; yet the secretary of an elector of Hanover has had the presumption to do so : the royal family of Stuart were banished for not attending to the voice of their people ; yet the elector of Hanover is not afraid to disregard it. Sir Hugh Smithson, (earl Percy) armed *cap-à-pé*, marches at the

head of all the cheesemongers and grocers from Temple-bar to Brentford, and the great Douglas of Scotland is not to be trusted with arms. The Scotch are irritated at this partiality; and in point of religion they are exasperated, as they are convinced the king is a papist.' This intemperate ribaldry was arrested by the speaker's interposition; but unlimited acrimony prevailed during the whole debate.

Frequent allusions having been made to the state of Ireland, the members of administration in both houses gave positive assurances that satisfactory plans of relief were in contemplation; but before these could be brought forward, the earl of Shelburne, having procured a summons of the house, recapitulated the proceedings of last session, blamed the delay of ministers, and to that cause attributed the disaffection prevailing in the sister kingdom. 'The government there,' he said, 'having been abdicated, the people had resumed their powers; in which they were fully justified: in the last session of parliament, moderate concessions and reasonable expectations of future relief would have satisfied them: but now the incapacity and inattention of ministers had brought England to the melancholy dilemma of submitting to the dictates of Ireland, or of losing America.' He attributed much of this evil to lord North, who was always asleep when he should be awake, and attentive only when alacrity led to error: he concluded a long and able speech with a motion of censure on ministers. They were defended by lord Hillsborough, who proved that no delay could be justly imputed to administration: measures for the relief of Ireland could not be at once adopted by government; they must flow from the legislature, and could not be entered on without proper information. Much extraneous matter was introduced into the debate, tending to throw blame on the cabinet; and a transaction regarding the purchase of a sinecure place from Mr. Fox, to bestow it on Mr. Jenkinson, by which the Irish establishment was loaded with a pension of £3000 per annum, was severely reprobated by the noble mover of the resolution: earl Gower also, who had lately retired from administration, reproached his former colleagues in bitter terms. 'He had presided,' he said, 'for some years at the council-table, and had seen such things pass of late, that no man of honor or conscience could sit there any longer.' The motion was negatived. Lord North, however, on the same day communicated to the commons additional papers respecting the state of Ireland; promising the remainder with all convenient despatch, together with a plan for the redress of grievances. This intimation did not prevent the earl of Ossory from pro-

posing a vote of censure, which, like that in the upper house, was rejected, after it had given birth to highly-applauded speeches from Fox and Burke; the latter of whom remarked, 'that what had been at first requested as a favor, was delayed till angrily demanded as a right; till threats extorted what had been denied to entreaties; till England had lost the moment of granting with dignity, and Ireland of receiving with gratitude.'

In accordance with his promise, on the thirteenth of December, lord North introduced three propositions for the relief of Ireland; allowing a free export of wool, woollens, and wool-flocks; of glass, with all kinds of glass manufactures; and a free trade with the British plantations on certain conditions, the basis of which was an equality of taxes and customs. The first two bills passed without delay; and the third, as soon as the sentiments of the Irish on it could be ascertained: about two months afterwards, his lordship perfected his plan, by repealing the prohibitions on the exportation of English gold coin, and the importation of foreign hops; also by enabling the Irish to become members of the Turkey company, and to engage in the Levant trade.

These regulations appeared to satisfy the Irish nation; but the appearance was delusive: in the midst of concessions which were confessed to be as liberal as the jealousy of British traders would permit, the craft of statesmanship was still visible, and a political manœuvre was practised of altering bills in a period of excitement; but this eventually turned against the projectors. 'The bills altered on this occasion,' says a philosophic historian,¹⁵ 'were not, as in the former case, money-bills: that folly, the minister did not venture to repeat: but one of them was a bill involving the dearest interests of the people; and the alteration was such, as gave to the public mind the only impulse which it then required, for aspiring to constitutional independence. The Irish parliament, not choosing that its military establishment should be longer regulated by a British mutiny-law, transmitted a bill of similar import: the minister, as if eager to indemnify himself for commercial concession by constitutional spoliation, introduced an alteration, by which the law was to be rendered perpetual; and the Irish parliament, though it passed the bill thus altered, was taught to look to freedom of constitution as the necessary safeguard to freedom of trade; to assert its own independence, while it unfettered the commerce of the country. When the minister had first, by the altered money-bills, alarmed the con-

¹⁵ Dr. Miller; *Modern History*, vol. iv. p. 471.

stitutional jealousy of the guardians of the public purse, he then, by another alteration rendering the mutiny-law perpetual, manifested a desire of securing to government the uncontrolled direction of the military power. Language could not more forcibly exhort the people of Ireland to be satisfied with no concessions merely commercial; but to insist that it should be acknowledged as an independent, though not a separated state.'

While the minister was endeavoring to tranquillise Ireland, a spirit of disaffection arose in England from a cause which never fails to interest the feelings of a nation in distress; the expenses of government, and the necessity of economy. Few subjects are more difficult to handle than this; for while one party declaims, with apparent justice, against the expensive trappings of royalty, and the profusion of ministerial patronage, as unduly extending court influence, and endangering popular rights; others speciously argue, that a systematic frugality is inconsistent with the nature of our government, which cannot be carried on without parliamentary interest; and that interest cannot be secured without the expensive appendages of pensions, sinecures, and lucrative employments. Two methods only, it is said, have as yet been discovered to rule mankind; force and bribery: if we choose to live under a free government, where public employments are open to the honorable ambition of all, and where every man's house is his castle, into which the foot of tyranny cannot enter,—we must be content to pay for such privileges; must bear with minor evils for the sake of higher advantages.

Without attempting to controvert these principles, or denying that to possess a guarantee for good government, the services of the best men must be secured by liberal remuneration; we ought not to shut our eyes against the necessity of checking that lavish expenditure, which, by encouraging the bad, corrupting the indifferent, and disgusting the virtuous, tends to bring on a paralysis of the body politic: for while the reasons for supporting a system, notwithstanding its expenses, are generally abstruse and philosophical, the abuses of that system are evident and glaring; so that the evils are easily seen by the many, while the advantages are comprehended only by the few; and the dangers arising thence are doubled by a free press. The efforts therefore made by Mr. Burke, in the cause of economical reform, to bring back the constitution to its first principles, were highly meritorious. The corruptions of that aristocratic power, which had so long predominated in the British government, had begun to bring

obloquy on the monarchy itself; and Mr. Burke wisely endeavored to combine with the maintenance of ancient institutions and established rights, the correction of real abuses, the pure administration of public patronage, and a prudent management of the public expenditure. He had long labored in his country's service; and for the intire surrender of his uncommon talents to the interests of the nation, he had as yet received but few tokens of public approbation: this, however, abated not his zeal; while the present season seemed most propitious to his exertions, inasmuch as parliament had now entered on its sixth session; and the members of the lower house began to recollect that they must soon render an account of their political conduct to their constituents.

The first attack, however, on the profuse system of administration was made in the upper house by the duke of Richmond, who moved an address to his majesty for the reduction of all useless expenditure; in support of which he recounted our large war establishment, the immense expense with which it was attended, and the frightful increase of the national debt. He contrasted the state of this country with the wise system of economy adopted by France under Neckar; and though he did not wish to make a deduction from the stipends settled on those who had wasted their fortunes in their country's service, or to abridge the dignity and splendor of the crown; yet he thought the king should set an example of retrenchment, which he had no doubt the nobility would cheerfully follow.

It was objected to this motion, that the facts which it recited were unauthenticated: a considerable reduction conveyed no specific meaning; a minister could not advise the king under such a vote, nor was his majesty bound to pay any regard to it; the civil list was established by act of parliament, and could not be retrenched by the decision of one house. Chiefly it was considered as an attempt to serve the temporary interests of a political party, by effecting the removal of ministers; and it was accordingly rejected by a majority of seventy-seven to thirty-seven.

The subject was introduced into the lower house on the fifteenth of December by Mr. Burke, who gave notice of his intention to propose certain important resolutions after the recess: he also extolled the financial system of M. Neckar, to which he attributed the reproduction of the French marine out of the wrecks and fragments of the last war. He anticipated a cool reception of his propositions, since their tendency would be to weaken court influence: men, however,

out of office could only make an offer; the people must achieve the rest: if they were not true to themselves, no other power could save them. All the grievances of the nation arose from the overgrown influence of the crown; and that influence itself from the enormous prodigality of the commons. Formerly its operation was confined to the superior orders of the state; but of late it had insinuated itself into every creek and cranny of the community: there was scarcely a family, so hidden and lost in the obscure recesses of society, which did not feel that it had something to keep or to get, to hope or to fear, from the favor or displeasure of the crown. Government should have force adequate to its functions, but no more: if it had enough to support itself in abusing or neglecting them, they must ever be abused or neglected: men would rely on power for a justification of their want of order, vigilance, foresight, and all the other virtues or qualifications of statesmen. The minister might exist, but the government was gone.

‘It is thus,’ he exclaimed, ‘that you see the same men, in the same power, sitting undisturbed before you, although thirteen colonies are lost: thus the marine of France and Spain has grown and prospered under their eye, and been fostered by their neglect: thus all hope of alliance in Europe is abandoned: thus three of our West India islands have been torn from us in one summer; while Jamaica, the most important of all, has been neglected, and all inquiry into that neglect stifled: thus Ireland has been brought into a state of distraction which no one dares to discuss: our parliamentary capacity is extinguished by the difficulty of our situation: the bill has been mumbled over with rapidity, and it passes in the silence of death. Did the administration possess any degree of strength, could this have happened?’ The disease of government, he observed, was a repletion: the over-feeding of the stomach had destroyed the vigor of the limbs: he had long ascertained the nature of the disorder, and its proper remedy, but had restrained his thoughts, for he was not naturally an economist; and was cautious of experiment, even to timidity: but the temper of the times was now favorable to reformation; and though he would not disclose all the particulars of his plan, he would state its end, objects, and limits.

He proposed then, a regulation which would give to the public service £200,000 a year, and annihilate a portion of influence equal to the places of fifty members of parliament: such a reform was much more to be relied on for removing the means of corruption, than any devices to prevent its operation:

an abrogation of the sources of influence would render disqualifications unnecessary; but while the sources remained, nothing could prevent their operation. With regard to the limits of his plan, nothing would be invaded which was held by any individual under a legal tenure: equity and mercy also would be remembered in those cases where innocent persons had been decoyed, as it were, into particular situations through the prodigality of parliament: the alterations would chiefly affect those who held offices from which they might be removed by ministerial arrangements: no employment really useful to the public would be abolished or abridged of its emoluments; a fund fully adequate to the reward of merit would be left; and an ample provision secured to the crown for personal satisfaction, and for as much of magnificence as was suitable to the burdened state of the country. However presumptuous his attempt might appear, it was made with humility and integrity: he trusted it would give confidence to the people, and strength to the government; that it would render war vigorous, and peace truly refreshing.

Mr. Burke's plan received much commendation from several members on his own side of the house, but was passed over in silence by the ministerial speakers. During the Christmas recess, a large meeting of the freeholders of Yorkshire was held, and a strong petition voted to the house of commons, for an inquiry into the abuses of the public expenditure, and for the reduction of all exorbitant emoluments: a permanent committee also was appointed for carrying on the correspondence necessary to promote the object of this petition, to support a laudable reform, and to restore the freedom of parliament. This example was followed by many other counties and cities, where public meetings were convened, in which violent harangues were delivered against the administration; although in some instances protests were signed, and counter-petitions framed.

On the eleventh of February, 1780, Mr. Burke introduced his memorable plan into the house of commons, with an eloquent speech, free from passion, purified from party views, and tender to personal interests; for though zealous to promote reform, he was yet cautious against the intemperate pursuit of it. The whole scheme was included in five bills, comprising the sale of forest lands; the abolition of the royal jurisdictions of Wales, Chester, Cornwall, and Lancaster; that of treasurer, comptroller, and many other officers in the household; of treasurer of the chamber, of the wardrobe, &c.; of the boards

of trade, green cloth, and works; of the office of third secretary of state; of the keepers of the royal hounds; of many civil branches of the ordnance and the mint, with the patent offices of the exchequer; the regulation of the army, navy, and pension pay-offices; and more especially a new arrangement of the civil list, by which all future encumbrances of debt might be avoided, without any undue encroachment on the royal prerogative. The plan of reforming so many offices, of reducing or regulating so many sources of influence, and of applying appropriate remedies to grievances, could only have been contrived by a person of eminent talents and unwearied zeal;¹⁶ but the very extent of the bill, involving as it did such numerous interests and enemies, was almost certain to ensure its failure: besides, the utility of economy in the various cases now selected, was not so evident, as it would have appeared, if applied to the more important departments of public expenditure: all parties indeed joined in applauding the depth of financial knowledge, and the acute discrimination displayed by the mover; but the ministerialists were ingenious enough to oppose in detail what they commended in the gross. The bills were fiercely argued during the months of March, April, and May, eliciting from their proposer many speeches distinguished by great force of argument, fertility of invention, and liveliness of wit; but in the end all met the fate which might have been expected. Nevertheless, the object of opposition was obtained by the celebrity of the attempt; for the popularity of the measure was of importance to their cause: its triumph probably would have excited their regret.

While Mr. Burke's project was yet depending, several auxiliary propositions were made in both houses; among the more prominent of which was one for a commission of accounts, to investigate the expenditure of the public revenue. This subject was introduced to the house of lords by the earl of Shelburne; who in a long and able speech exposed the shameful profusion pervading all branches of government, declaring that his main object was to destroy that undue influence which affected both houses of parliament; and which, if not eradicated, would bring ruin on the country. The motion was

¹⁶ 'Mr. Burke's reform bill,' says Gibbon, 'was framed with skill, introduced with eloquence, and supported by numbers. Never can I forget the delight with which that diffusive and ingenious orator was heard by all sides of the house; and even by those whose existence he proscribed.'

supported by the duke of Grafton, and the marquis of Rockingham; the latter of whom declared, that a system had been established, at the accession of his present majesty, for governing this kingdom under the forms of law, but really by the immediate influence of the crown; and to this he ascribed all our national misfortunes. The motion having been strongly opposed by lords Stormont, Mansfield, and Thurlow, who maintained that it was a violation of the exclusive privileges of the other house, and intended only to embarrass government, was lost by the votes of 101 against 55; but the minority, thirty-five of whom entered a protest on the journals, was the largest that had for a long time appeared in opposition to the court interest.

In the house of commons, when colonel Barré suggested the necessity of some addition to Mr. Burke's propositions, and intimated his intention of moving, at a future day, for a commission of accounts; he was surprised to find lord North heartily coinciding with him, and sanctioning the measure: his lordship accordingly moved for the appointment of such a committee, which might inquire, not only into past expenditure, but current accounts: it was indeed strongly opposed during its whole progress, and decried, as tending to create new sources of patronage, while the people were petitioning for its reduction: but it passed; and six independent gentlemen of great respectability and talent were appointed commissioners, whose reports, drawn up with much industry and ability, conveyed to parliament and to the public very valuable stores of political information. The bill for excluding contractors from sitting in parliament, and suspending the votes of revenue officers, passed the commons, but was rejected by the lords, as an illiberal stigma cast on a respectable body of men, and as a mean compliance with popular prejudices.

During these debates, petitions were daily received, enforcing the necessity of economy, and of diminishing the influence of the crown: in the midst of the debates, on a motion made by Sir George Savile, for an account of all places with salaries, and all pensions payable at the exchequer, or out of the privy purse, a short suspension of business took place on account of the indisposition of the speaker. When the sittings were resumed, lord North carried an amendment, that the pensions payable at the exchequer only should be published: at the same time, a motion was introduced into the upper house, by the earl of Effingham, for a list of all pensions enjoyed by peers of parliament: in the debates which ensued, the state of the Scottish

peerage was severely handled ; but the proposition was lost by a large majority.

During the whole of this session personal invective was carried to a high pitch ; which caused a hostile meeting not only between Mr. Adam and Mr. Fox, but also between Mr. Fullarton and the earl of Shelburne, the latter of whom had reflected in very contemptuous terms on the appointment of the other to the command of a regiment which he had lately raised. These transactions induced Sir James Lowther to declare in the commons, that if questions of a public nature were to be thus tried by appeals to the sword, the British parliament would soon resemble a Polish diet. A different altercation occurred on the thirteenth of March between lord North and the speaker, Norton, who was dissatisfied at the disappointment of a supposed claim, depending on a promise made to him by the duke of Grafton, of being appointed to the office of chief justice in the court of common pleas ; negotiations being now in progress for promoting the attorney general to that office. The minister very justly denied that he was responsible for the promises of his predecessors ; and Mr. Wedderburne, with great force and severity, exposed the arrogance of Sir Fletcher Norton's pretensions : but from this time the speaker joined the ranks of opposition, and repeated their cries of crown influence, abuse of prerogative, and rights of the people ; starting up a patriot, when his unjustifiable demands were disallowed.

During these disputes, petitions were daily laid before the house : that from the county of York was presented on the eighth of February by Sir George Savile, who stated that it had received the signatures of above 8000 freeholders, after being moved in a meeting, not of incendiaries, but of 600 gentlemen, possessing more property than those who were assembled within the walls of the house of commons. 'To this,' said he, 'the administration will not dare to refuse a hearing, however the arts of ministerial finesse may be employed to defeat its purpose.' Mr. Fox used similar language in presenting the Westminster petition ; and Sir James Lowther, in offering that from Cumberland, forgot himself so far, as to say, 'that if the house should turn a deaf ear to so respectable a body, they would do themselves justice by withholding the taxes.'

The discussion of these petitions, fixed for the sixth of April, was anticipated with eager expectation, and met with all the zeal and address of party : a numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster was convened by direction of the

corresponding committee; which being represented as an attempt to overawe the proceedings of parliament, government stationed a large body of troops in the vicinity. A call of the house had been ordered, and petitions continued to be received before the commencement of the debate, until the speaker's table was almost buried beneath the folds of parchment. The house having resolved itself into a committee, Mr. Dunning took the lead in the memorable debates of this day; exhibiting, in a continued series, the history and philosophy of constitutional law, and animadverting on measures which endangered British rights and liberties in former times: afterwards, he drew a highly-colored picture of ministerial conduct at present, and endeavored to prove that it tended to produce mischief similar to what had been produced by the counsels of the house of Stuart; and he concluded by stating, that he should frame two propositions, abstracted from the petitions on the table, and take on them the sense of the committee: the first of these was, 'that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.' This fact, he observed, was notorious; nor could there be a stronger proof of alarming and corrupt influence, than the readiness shown by many members in that house to support measures, which out of doors they reprobated as absurd and ruinous. He could point out more than fifty who adopted such strange language and conduct.

Ministers defended themselves by calling the resolution an abstract proposition, which ought not to be entertained by the house: in other respects it was useless, being not calculated to avert any evil, or to remedy any abuse: it was unsupported by facts; and the allegations of the mover rested on no foundation.

The speaker now added his influence to that of opposition, insisting strongly on the exorbitant power of the crown, and the increase of corrupt influence; observing also, that it was doubtless galling to the house to be instructed in their duty by the petitioners; but they ought to recollect that it was their own fault; for what these petitioners demanded, ought to have originated within their own walls: they were representatives of the people, and pledged to the faithful discharge of their duty.

Such an effect had the arguments of Dunning and the authority of the speaker with the country gentlemen, that ministers became alarmed. The lord advocate, Mr. Dundas, attempted to stifle inquiry, by moving that the chairman should

leave the chair ; but failing in this, he proposed an amendment, by prefixing the words, 'it is now necessary to declare,' to the original proposition ; and this was acceded to by Mr. Fox, though its aim was to convert a general declaration into a temporary assertion, which might at any future period be retracted. The amended resolution was carried by a majority of eighteen ; and Mr. Dunning, pursuing his success, proposed and carried his second proposition, 'that it was competent to the house at any time to examine and correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil list.' A third motion, strongly deprecated, like that preceding it, by lord North, was also carried by Mr. Thomas Pitt, affirming 'that it was the duty of the house to provide immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions.' Lastly, it was moved by Mr. Fox, at past one in the morning, that the resolutions should be immediately reported : lord North in vain opposed the motion, as violent, arbitrary, and unusual ; the report was brought up, and the house adjourned.

On the tenth of April, the committee being re-assembled, Mr. Dunning, after congratulating the house on the late decisions, moved and carried a resolution for producing an account of all sums of money paid to members of parliament from any portion of the public revenue : he next proposed a resolution for rendering certain officers, such as the treasurers of the chamber and of the household, clerks of the green cloth, and others, incapable of sitting in the house of commons ; but this met with a strenuous opposition, and was only carried by a majority of two. Thus far the patriotic party had triumphantly proceeded ; when the sudden illness of the speaker, on the fourteenth of April, obliged the commons to adjourn to the twenty-fourth : on that day Mr. Dunning moved for an address to his majesty, deprecating 'the dissolution or prorogation of parliament before proper measures were adopted to fulfil the objects of the petitions.' He sarcastically alluded to the unusual fulness of the house, hoping that the new comers would increase the majority of the sixth of April ; and Mr. Thomas Pitt, who seconded the motion, after reading some resolutions of the Cambridge county meeting, approving the late decisions, conjured the house not to repress the budding confidence of the nation, or inflame popular resentment.

The most conspicuous opponent of this motion was Mr. Adam, a young member of high promise, who, in a speech of extraordinary ability, exposed the danger of impelling the mul-

titude to an active interference in matters of government. He drew a striking example of the progress from popular agitation to revolution and anarchy in the time of Charles I., allowing that the opponents of the court began from justifiable and generous motives. Mr. Fox made a spirited reply, and gave a different interpretation to that period of history; ascribing the fate of Charles and the national calamities, to the obstinacy and insincerity of that monarch's character, who by rejecting the wishes and deceiving the expectations of his people in the early part of his reign, provoked them to a resistance which ended in his own destruction. Ministers, he said, had spared no pains, and abstained from no artifices, to induce members to abandon their own glorious vote of the sixth of April; to carry which into execution the present motion was absolutely necessary: the house was pledged to the people, and he cautioned them against violating such a pledge. The motion, having been reprobated by lord George Germaine, and ridiculed by Mr. Dundas, was finally rejected by a majority of 254 to 203.

After the division, Mr. Fox rose up to speak; but the ministerial party, dreading the castigation which his eloquence might inflict, endeavored to prevent him from being heard; when an extraordinary scene of uproar and confusion ensued. As soon, however, as order could be enforced, the deserters were condemned to hear their treachery reprobated in one of the severest philippics that was ever delivered within the walls of the house; and it was predicted that such gross tergiversation would meet with the punishment it deserved at the approaching election. Lord North endeavored to throw the shield of his wit and eloquence over those who had subjected themselves to Mr. Fox's reproaches: a proposition of sergeant Adair to withhold the supplies, was negatived without a debate; and a motion for the chairman's quitting the chair was carried on the twenty-sixth of May by a majority of forty-three. Such was the termination of one of the most critical struggles which had taken place during this reign.

Much astonishment was expressed, not only at the encouragement which Mr. Dunning's motion received from a large party who had so warmly taken up the American war, but at the sudden change of sentiment which was now exhibited. Some historians have ascribed this to influence and corruption, inconsistency and treachery; others deduce it from the peculiar temper of the times, the state of the ministry, and the violence of opposition.

The distracted condition of Ireland, the unsuccessful progress of the war, and the degraded state of the British navy, it is thought, excited general alarm and indignation: divisions in the cabinet, the easy temper of lord North, and the unpopularity of lords Sandwich and Germaine, increased the national ferment, and induced several independent members to second the efforts of opposition; while the known integrity of lord Rockingham and Sir George Savile, the manly spirit of Fox, and the splendid talents of Burke, inspired many with hope and confidence, inclining them to measures that were likely to substitute an efficient for a distracted administration: but when Mr. Dunning brought forward his second resolution, the violence of opposition had already disgusted many of their new adherents, and it was carried only by a majority of two. In this situation of affairs, the illness of the speaker occasioned an adjournment, and allowed time for reflection: after the recess, opposition being too eager to pursue their advantages, alarmed all moderate men by a proposition, which appeared to aim at annihilating the power of the crown, and reviving the tyranny of the long parliament: hence the majority of fifty-one, which threw out Mr. Dunning's last motion.¹⁷

On the twenty-third of March, lord North informed the house, that the East India company, not having made satisfactory proposals for the renewal of their charter, he would move that the speaker should give them the three years notice, ordered by act of parliament, previous to the dissolution of their monopoly; and that the sum of £4,200,000, due from the public to the company, should be paid on the twenty-fifth of April, 1783, agreeably to the tenor of the said act. Mr. Fox inveighed against this measure, as tending to deprive us of our East Indian, as well as our American possessions: but lord North answered, that he intended nothing more than to prefer a legal claim, in behalf of the public, to the reversion of an undoubted right; and the proposed notice did not preclude ulterior arrangements. The company, as established, was certainly the best medium for drawing home the revenues of the East Indies; but if its members were so unreasonable as not to offer a fair bargain to the public, a new corporation might be formed, and measures taken to prevent or remedy the threatened evils. These representations appeared so reasonable, that the motion was carried without a division.

On the fifth of May, general Conway offered a plan of

¹⁷ See Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 229.

reconciliation with the American provinces, by removing all just causes of complaint, without acknowledging their independence; but it was rejected as degrading and ineffectual. Repeated motions were made in both houses, inquiring into the army extraordinaries, and other articles of public expenditure, as well as for the removal of ministers; but all were ineffectual: in the mean time, associations continued to be formed in the metropolis, and other parts of the country, as well for the reformation of abuses, as for a change of men and measures.

But in the midst of anti-ministerial hostility, and of associations for storming the citadel of power through the co-operation of the people, an occurrence took place, which tended to damp the spirit of opposition, and to promote unanimity among all ranks, by displaying the dangers of popular violence, and the atrocities to which the multitude is liable to be impelled, whatever may be the motives which induce them to assemble. The successful resistance made by Scottish zealots against admitting on that side of the Tweed the late acts in favor of the Roman catholics, encouraged some fanatics in England to expect, that by efforts equally vigorous, a repeal of the obnoxious ordinances might be procured. Accordingly, a protestant club was instituted, which contained some well-meaning, but many ill-informed persons, who, by a false estimate of the present state and prospects of popery, gradually worked themselves up to that intolerant spirit which distinguished papists themselves during the worst eras of clerical usurpation. The active genius of fanaticism being once let loose, politics mingled themselves in the question; eighty-five corresponding societies were established under the specious pretext of supporting protestantism; and the parent institution soon acquired consequence in the eyes of the multitude, by a titled president being placed in its chair. The person who conferred and received this distinction was lord George Gordon, a young man of eccentric disposition, dissipated habits, volatile fancy, and weak judgment. Endowed with some talent for speaking, and ambitious of notoriety, he had taken an active share in the Scotch proceedings, and now entered eagerly into the views of these English fanatics, over whom he obtained unbounded influence, engaging them to adopt his inflammatory propositions as resolutions of the society. On Monday, the twenty-ninth of May, a meeting was held at Coachmakers-hall, to consider a mode of petitioning for a repeal of the act in favor of papists; when lord George,

in a furious harangue, described the alarming progress made by the church of Rome; urging his hearers to obstruct its march by approaching parliament with a resolute tone, and showing to their representatives a determination to uphold religious freedom at the hazard of life itself: he professed himself ready to head them in the cause of conscience and of their country; but if they meant to waste their time in mock debates and idle opposition, he recommended them to choose another leader.

A speech so consonant to the passions and prejudices of his hearers produced a resolution that the whole association should meet, on the following Friday, in St. George's-fields, and thence proceed to the house of commons. Accordingly, at ten o'clock in the morning of that day, more than 40,000 persons, wearing blue cockades, inscribed with the words 'No Popery,' marched from the place appointed in four divisions; and having assembled before the house of parliament, they blocked up its avenues, insulted many of the members, and even attempted to force their way into the passages. When lord George moved that the commons should take into immediate consideration a petition which he had presented, they refused, under the plea that no act of theirs could be free while they were surrounded by a clamorous and licentious mob. During the discussion on this subject, his lordship frequently addressed the multitude, exhorting them to persevere in urging their application; and many members began to fear that they would break into the house; when general Murray, a veteran officer, and uncle to the duke of Athol, addressed the demagogue:— 'If one of your lawless followers enters, I shall consider rebellion as begun, and will plunge my sword into your bosom as its promoter.' This resolute speech is supposed to have restrained the violence both of the leader and his followers, and to have prevented the audacious intrusion of the latter. In the evening, some troops arrived, and the multitude retired from Palace-yard; but proceeded to demolish two chapels belonging to the Sardinian and Bavarian embassies. On Saturday they remained quiet; but being encouraged by the timidity and negligence of the city authorities, they reassembled on Sunday; and directing their course to Moorfields, where many catholics dwelt, they destroyed both their chapels and dwelling-houses.

On Monday, these furious bigots renewed their outrages, being joined by a number of those profligate and disorderly wretches, who are always found among the dense masses of a

populous city. Lawless atrocity being now united to religious frenzy, the ferocious multitude added plunder to conflagration, destroying the houses of protestants as well as of catholics : in the mean time, the constituted authorities, as if paralysed, remained passive spectators of the scene, and a panic pervaded all the respectable classes of society. A proclamation indeed was issued, offering a reward of £500 for the discovery of the incendiaries who set fire to the chapels of the ambassadors ; and some persons charged with this crime were sent to Newgate, under an escort of soldiers, who were exposed to the insults of the rabble in the performance of their duty. On Monday, the chief vengeance of the mob was directed against the mansion of Sir George Savile, who had introduced the obnoxious bill into the house of commons : frequent attempts were made to set it on fire ; but it was saved by the interference of friends, who rallied round him in this hour of difficulty and danger. On Tuesday, which day had been fixed by the commons for considering the petition of the association, the mob again surrounded the house and insulted the members, who, after passing some resolutions adapted to the occasion, immediately adjourned. All the troops in town were this day distributed to assist the civil powers in protecting the lives and properties of his majesty's subjects ; but the precaution of ministers had been neither proportionate to the danger, nor adopted when the first appearance of tumult demanded vigorous measures : robbery and destruction therefore rapidly increased. In the evening, after many private houses had been burnt, the insurgents attacked the prison of Newgate, which they set on fire, and liberated more than 300 ruffians to augment their ferocious bands. Flushed with success, they now directed their attacks against the most active magistrates ; and with peculiar exultation destroyed the house and effects of Sir John Fielding : rushing from thence to Bloomsbury-square, they assailed the residence of the illustrious lord Mansfield ; plundered and destroyed the valuable furniture, pictures, statues, and other ornaments with which it was decorated ; and, proceeding to the library, committed to the flames, not only his books, but the inestimable manuscripts which contained the treasures of his judicial and legislative wisdom. A party of the guards fired once or twice on the rioters without checking their progress ; but the earl and his lady effected their escape by a back door, and were received by royal hospitality into Buckingham-house. On Wednesday, proceeding to Holborn, the mob set fire to Mr. Langdale's great distil-

leries, which contained an immense quantity of spirituous liquors; and many of the intoxicated wretches perished in the flames which they had lighted: different gangs now undertook and effected the demolition of the various prisons: all trade was at a stand; houses and shops were closed; men and women were flying in consternation, trying to secure their most valuable effects, or to deposit their helpless infants in places of safety; yells of barbarous triumph were mingled with shrieks of horror and the discharge of musketry; masses of flames were seen issuing from the King's-bench and Fleet prisons, New Bridewell, the toll-gates of Blackfriars-bridge, the distilleries in Holborn, and houses in all quarters; so that the terrified inhabitants augured, with unspeakable horror, destruction to the whole metropolis.

In this great emergency a full privy council had been convened, at which the king was present; but irresolution prevailed, nor was any thing decisive suggested. The members were rising, when his majesty anxiously asked if no effectual measure could be recommended. The attorney general replied, that he knew only one;—that of declaring the tumult rebellious, and authorising the military to act without the license or presence of a magistrate: the council still hesitated to adopt this advice, though several members acknowledged its propriety: but the king, with a noble effort of moral courage, took the responsibility on himself, and desired the attorney general to make out the order, which he immediately signed. The proclamation to this effect was not issued till the evening, but the advantage of it soon appeared. A detachment of militia, under colonel Holroyd, first checked the outrages; and the guards soon dispersed the rioters at Blackfriars-bridge, after many had been pushed over the balustrade into the river.

This resolution to employ military aid was adopted just in time to avert national ruin: the infuriated multitude had attacked the pay office, and were directing their attempts on the Bank; while a strong detachment was sent to co-operate with the incendiaries by cutting the pipes of the New River. The soldiers, however, were now assembled in such force, and inspired with such resolution, as effectually to resist, and finally to overpower the assailants at all points. On Thursday, the inhabitants began to recover from their consternation, though the shops continued shut, and detached parties still created disturbance: no attempt, however, was made to rally at night; so that on Friday tranquillity was restored; and lord George

Gordon, being apprehended by a warrant from the secretary of state, was committed to prison.

It was fortunate for the country that this insurrection began without any settled or concerted plan ; and that private houses were the first objects of popular fury, before rapacity, added to fanaticism, impelled the mob to attack the Bank and other public offices : it was also fortunate that the king determined to exert that moral courage which so eminently distinguished his character, and which saved the capital from destruction. The effects resulting from this outrage on civil authority were of a mixed nature. Though unconnected with the great object of the petitions, it disheartened the friends of reform, emboldened the tories to circulate gross accusations against their political opponents, and materially increased the influence of the crown : but the credit of a mob, as a test of public opinion, was lessened ; the dangerous consequences of its rash determinations became more evident ; and government was induced in future more readily to oppose the commencement of popular violence by military force. Thus the tumult passed away, but the lessons which it inculcated were not forgotten : they were remembered with peculiar advantage, when the revolutionary tempest was heard in France, and its clouds began to cast their shade on the shores of Britain.

On the sixth of June, more than 200 members of the house of commons having had the courage to force their way through the banditti that occupied the avenues, passed several spirited resolutions, asserting their own privileges, and appointing a committee of inquiry, as well as an address to his majesty for the prosecution of offenders by the attorney general, and an indemnification to the foreign ministers for their losses : they afterwards met on the eighth ; but the city of Westminster being under the operation of martial law, they judged it expedient to adjourn to the nineteenth, that order and tranquillity might be completely restored. On that day, his majesty was pleased to meet his parliament, and exhibit a general view of the measures which had been employed during the suspension of regular government ; when all parties concurred in applauding their sovereign's conduct, though some members censured the tardy conduct of ministers in providing for the defence of the metropolis. In the house of lords, when the question respecting the legality of military interference was introduced, this important point was accurately examined and constitutionally settled by lord Mansfield, whose sufferings in the late unhappy tumults increased the interest with which his high

character and attainments were regarded by the house. The sympathy of his hearers rose to the highest pitch, when with much feeling he declared, that he had been obliged to form his opinion without consulting any books on the subject. 'Indeed,' he added, 'I have now no books to consult.'

Disembarrassing the question from all doubts relative to constructive treason, his lordship proved that the insurgents were guilty both of high treason and of felony: every man might, and if required by a magistrate, must interfere, to prevent acts of felony, treason, and rebellion; what therefore an individual might do, was lawful to any number of persons lawfully assembled. A private man, seeing another commit an unlawful act, might apprehend the offender, and by force compel him to submit, not to the assailant, but to the law; and so might any number of men assembled, or called together for the purpose: this doctrine, with all the consequences that might flow from it, was indisputable, and was the true foundation for calling in military aid: the persons so called in were, in the eye of the law, mere private individuals, not differing in this instance from their fellow-citizens, because they wore red coats. 'If a military man,' said his lordship, 'exceed the powers with which he is invested, he must be tried and punished, not by the martial code, but by the laws of the realm: consequently, it was an ill-founded apprehension, that the metropolis was under martial law, or that the military had more power since the riots than before.'

The house of commons having resolved itself into a committee, the petitions for repealing the bill which had been made the occasion of so much mischief were taken into consideration; but as no evil appeared to have proceeded from the relaxation of that penal law which had been mitigated, the house adopted five resolutions, on the motion of Mr. Burke, expressing satisfaction in the law as it now existed, together with an abhorrence of the late tumults, and of the misrepresentations which led to them. As the protestant association, however, still continued to press their demands on the legislature, a bill was brought in, by way of compromise, to deprive Roman catholics of the right of keeping schools in which protestants were taught: it passed the commons; but the lords threw it out, as carried by the fear of popular outrage, and therefore derogatory to the dignity and independence of parliament.

The supplies for 1780 amounted to £21,196,496: the number of seamen and marines employed was 85,000; and

35,000 British troops, besides the forces abroad: the extraordinaries of the army amounted to £2,418,805. To provide for these expenses, in addition to the usual resources of land and malt, exchequer bills were renewed to the same amount as last year. The sinking-fund was to provide two millions and a half: £12,000,000 were borrowed on annuities, and £480,000 raised by lottery. Increased duties were laid on malt, spirits, wines of Portugal and France, Newcastle coals, exported salt, licenses to sell tea and coffee, legacies, and advertisements in newspapers: a vote of credit also for £1,000,000 was passed in addition to these supplies; and on the eighth of July this long and important session closed.

The rioters in London and Middlesex were tried at the Old Bailey, a special commission being issued for those in Surrey; the principal commissioner being Mr. Wedderburne, as chief justice of the common pleas, who was raised to the peerage by the title of lord Loughborough. All proceedings were conducted on the most humane principles of British jurisprudence; no man being convicted but on the fullest testimony, and no plea of extenuation disregarded. Lord George Gordon, after having in vain petitioned the house of commons for his discharge, was injudiciously tried for high treason, instead of being indicted for high crimes and misdemeanors: his acquittal was principally due to the talents and eloquence of his counsel, Messrs. Kenyon and Erskine, who argued that his motives were not treasonable or malicious. He soon afterwards fell into general contempt, renounced the Christian for the Jewish faith, and died in Newgate, where he had undergone a long imprisonment for various libels on foreign potentates, on the first of November 1793.

As the nation was now relieved from all danger of internal commotion, as well as from any apprehension of foreign invasion, and as it was not the intention of government to yield to the petitions of the people, it became necessary to provide means for defeating their applications: accordingly parliament was dissolved in the autumn, and a new one summoned to meet on the thirty-first of October. The elections, except in a few instances, were not strongly contested: Mr. Fox, after a severe struggle with lord Lincoln, was returned for Westminster, and Mr. Burke was rejected at Bristol. The charges against him were four: his not visiting the city more frequently; his support of lord Beauchamp's insolvent debtors' bills; the Irish trade acts; and the relief granted to the Roman catholics. Each of these he defended with great ability; rendering the

common and temporary affair of an election a medium of propagating great and permanent political truths. 'The charges against me,' said he, 'are all of one kind; that I have pushed the principles of justice and benevolence too far; farther than a cautious policy would warrant, and farther than the opinions of many would go along with me. In every accident that may happen to me through life, in pain, in sorrow, in depression, and distress, I will call to mind this accusation, and be comforted.' He declined a contest, and was again chosen, as its representative, by the borough of Malton. At this period William Pitt the second was an unsuccessful candidate to represent the university of Cambridge; but in January following he was returned for the close borough of Appleby, by the interest of Sir James Lowther. We must now direct our attention to the military and naval affairs of Great Britain, which this year presented no very favorable appearance.

We were not only involved in a war with our colonies, assisted by France and Spain; but a strong combination was formed against us by several powers, constituting what has been called 'the armed neutrality.' This association originated with the court of Petersburg, which had been at first regarded by the ministry as their best ally in the present crisis: but though it had its origin in the north, its influence soon spread over the rest of Europe, and was not likely to be again lost sight of. By it the contracting parties pledged themselves to maintain the principle, 'that free ships make free goods, with the exception of arms and munitions of war;'—a principle inconsistent with the right hitherto acknowledged, as belonging to belligerent powers, of searching the vessels of neutral states. At this time also the native powers of India had entered into a formidable coalition, under French influence, for driving us from their territories; while repeated failures both by sea and land had weakened public confidence both in our commanders and our resources: public credit, too, was much depressed; the value of landed property was diminished; trade and manufactures languished; and there was a considerable deficiency in the produce of the revenue.

The first cheering sign of returning fortune arose on that element which seems peculiarly our own. Admiral Rodney having been despatched with a squadron for the relief of Gibraltar, which was sorely distressed for want of provisions, the Bourbon cabinets expected that he would leave his transports, in a certain latitude, to make their own way to the fortress: under this impression, they ordered admiral Don

Juan de Langara to proceed with eleven men of war and two frigates to intercept the supply. Rodney had the good fortune, soon after he quitted port, to fall in with a valuable Spanish convoy with stores for the fleet at Cadiz; when he captured not only fifteen merchant-men, but a new sixty-four gun ship, four frigates, and two corvettes. Soon afterwards, on the sixteenth of January, he encountered Langara near Cape St. Vincent; and having the superior force, he directly bore down on the enemy, taking the lee-gage, in order to prevent them from retreating into their own ports: this mode of conflict threatened peculiar danger to his fleet, as the action commenced about four o'clock P.M. in a violent gale of wind, and lasted through a dark and tempestuous night. In the first hour of the engagement a Spanish ship of the line blew up with a tremendous explosion, and all on board perished: at six, another struck her colors; and by ten in the morning, the *Monarca*, which was the hindmost of all the enemy's ships, struck to the *Sandwich*, Rodney's flag-ship; when all firing ceased. Four captured ships of the line reached Gibraltar in safety; one that had been taken went on shore, and the English seamen on board became captives; another was lost on the breakers; and several British ships were in great danger among the shoals of San Lucar; but all escaped. About 2400 of the enemy, with Don Juan de Langara himself, were made prisoners. Even in this successful action Rodney discovered among the superior officers of his fleet those seeds of insubordination, which soon afterwards ripened into a disobedience little short of mutiny, and occasioned him the deepest mortification: he deemed it, however, prudent in the present instance to abstain from censure; and the British public were not aware of the circumstances under which he had achieved so brilliant an action.¹⁸ Rodney also took this opportunity of doing another great service, not only to his country, but to the cause of humanity. Hitherto British prisoners in Spain had been treated with great severity; and the strongest consti-

¹⁸ In a letter to his wife, he says, 'one thing I can say without dread of reproach; that I defy envy, malice, or villany to tax me with not having done my duty to the utmost extent: but without a thorough change in our naval affairs, the discipline of our navy will be lost. I could say much, but will not: you will hear it from themselves. I have done them all like honor; but it was because I would not have the world believe that there were officers slack in their duty. Keep this to yourself.' *Life of Rodney*, vol. i. p. 230.

tution could not support for any length of time the hardships of a Spanish prison: when Langara therefore fell into the hands of Rodney, his officers and men expected to meet with a similar fate; but were astonished at receiving from the British admiral the most kind and compassionate treatment. Having made a strong impression on the minds of the Spaniards by this courteous behavior, he represented to them the miserable condition of his countrymen, and obtained a promise, that Englishmen, when prisoners in Spain, should be made as comfortable as their situation would permit. At this period indeed, the name of Rodney, like that of Nelson in later times, filled every breast with hope and confidence; the press teemed with effusions in his honor; and ministers themselves began to look on him as the main stay of their power.¹⁹

On the thirteenth of February, Sir George relieved Minorca; and having landed provisions and stores at Gibraltar, he sailed to fulfil the ulterior object of his commission, after sending home his prizes with a detachment of the channel fleet under admiral Darby. That officer, on his passage, had the good fortune to capture the *Prothée*, a French ship of sixty-four guns, and three vessels laden with military stores intended for the Mauritius.

Rodney arrived at St. Lucie on the twenty-eighth of March, with twenty-one ships of the line; and soon afterwards encountered the French fleet of twenty-three, under count de Guichen. By one masterly manœuvre, he gained the wind of his opponent, with the power of choosing his distance; and by another, he contrived to bring his compact line of battle against about half the enemy, sailing in a parallel line on the same tack: so that the two fleets being very near, with the weather-gage in favor of the British, they had the prospect of gaining a decisive victory, by putting before the wind, getting alongside that half opposed to them, and overpowering it before it could be succored by the other. Signals were accordingly

¹⁹ 'It is impossible,' says lady Rodney, in a letter addressed to her husband after the victory, 'to describe the general applause that is bestowed on you: it is not only a source of gratification to individuals, but to the nation in general; and the ministerial people feel it very sensibly. It is a lucky stroke for them at this juncture. I congratulate you on the thanks of both houses of parliament. I hear the king is exceedingly pleased with you: he said at the drawing-room, that he knew, when Rodney was out, every thing would go well.' *Life of Rodney*, vol. i. p. 259. 263.

made for close conflict, and for each ship to attack the opposite one of the enemy ; but both were disobeyed : the leading ship, instead of putting up her helm and bearing down, made sail on the same direction ; construing the signal to mean, by opposite, not that immediately to leeward, but the corresponding ship, that is, the headmost of the line. Many other captains were guilty of the like error ; while several kept at a great distance, neglecting repeated signals for lying close ; so that the whole advantage of the day was lost, though Rodney himself set a noble example, beating three of the enemy's ships successively out of the line, and then bearing down on the French admiral, whom, even when assisted by two other ships, he fought for an hour and a half with unremitting fury : but though he drove him also out of the line, which then became wholly broken in its centre, the great distance between the British van and rear, with the crippled state of Rodney's own ship and some others, stopped him in the career of victory, and the French fleet escaped into Fort Royal Bay. Never perhaps was a commander placed in more trying circumstances : it was impossible to measure accurately the degrees of delinquency among his officers ; or to know whether ignorance, cowardice, or disaffection operated most : this made him indulgently ascribe their conduct to the first and least culpable cause of failure ; and having singled out one of them,²⁰ who had most flagrantly disobeyed signals, he put him under arrest, and on the first convenient opportunity brought him to a court-martial, which sentenced him to dismissal from the service. This example had a good effect in restoring discipline, which was farther promoted by the evolutions in which the admiral determined to exercise his fleet, and for which the enemy soon gave him an opportunity, by stealing round to windward of Martinique. The British fleet sailed from St. Lucie on the sixth of May, and continued to turn for six days and nights, before they could clear the passage, and get sight of the enemy ; during which time there was a continual tacking, sometimes all together, but oftener in succession ;—an arduous manœuvre for twenty sail of the line.¹ The enemy, having the advantage of the wind, were able to hazard or avoid an engagement at pleasure, and chose the

²⁰ Captain Bateman, of the Yarmouth.

¹ ' At the beginning of these evolutions, there was a frequent missing of stays, which the admiral lost no opportunity of rebuking ; but after the practice of a few days and nights, no such thing occurred.' Life of Rodney, vol. i. p. 276.

latter alternative. Rodney endeavored to gain the lee-gage, but was unable to succeed: by feigning flight, on the fifteenth, he had almost drawn them to a battle; but after a partial cannonade between the extreme ships on each side, the French retired. On the nineteenth, the British admiral endeavored to turn the enemy's fleet; and from his movements, both lines became so entangled, as to render a conflict unavoidable between the British van and the rear of their opponents; when the latter, after suffering considerable loss, bore away to Martinique; having manifested a conscious inferiority, by firing wholly at the rigging, in order to avoid a general engagement.

The arrival of a Spanish squadron of twelve line-of-battle ships, with frigates, transports, and 10,000 troops, under Don Solano, seemed to portend ruin to the fleet, as well as to the possessions of the British in those seas;² but this accession of strength proved eventual weakness. A pestilential disorder broke out among the Spanish forces, and a dissension between the commanders, which prevented their co-operation: after remaining inactive for several weeks in Port Royal, the combined squadrons set sail on the fifth of July for St. Domingo: there they separated; the Spanish admiral proceeding to the Havannah, and the count de Guichen to Cape Francois, where he remained till the French homeward-bound fleet was ready to sail for Europe. Rodney, supposing that he meant to convey this fleet to a certain latitude, and then proceed to the

² At this time, the danger was most imminent, not only from the state of the officers, but of the ships, as appears from the following passage in a letter from lord Sandwich himself to the admiral:—'For God's sake, contrive to send home your bad ships: we cannot bear to lose any of the line: our present list is too small; and we shall be open to much censure if we suffer any farther diminution.' 'In how fearfully low estate,' says the author of Rodney's life, 'as to ships of the line must the British navy have been left at this most critical juncture! Had not Sir George captured the Spanish ships of Langara, which proved an important accession of force to Great Britain; or had the admiral sustained any reverses in the West Indies, which nothing but his extraordinary skill and good conduct prevented, the consequences might have been most fatal to this country, the safety of which mainly, if not intirely, depended on the wisdom and courage of one man.' (vol. i. p. 317.) That this was the case, appears very evident from the following confession of lord Sandwich:—'I know not what to do to find a good second in command for you; but you may depend on my having that matter in my very serious consideration.' p. 347.

continent of America, hastened thither, with eleven ships of the line and four frigates, to anticipate his arrival ; but though he met not his old enemy, who was actually on his way to France, he had no reason to regret his voyage ; for it saved his squadron from one of the most terrific hurricanes that ever desolated the unfortunate islands of the West Indies. Thus, although Rodney had not the satisfaction of carrying the enemy's fleet into a British port ; yet by the promptitude and vigor of his movements he completely baffled their designs, obliged them to relinquish whatever enterprises they might have contemplated, and with his very limited means provided for the safety of the widely-extended colonies of Great Britain in those seas. He then turned his thoughts towards North America, in conformity with a plan proposed by him to government, and sanctioned by a declaration of lord Sandwich ;—‘that unless our commanders in chief take the same line, and consider the king's whole dominions under their care, our enemies must find us unprepared somewhere, and carry their point against us.’

While Rodney was thus supporting the honor of the British flag on the ocean, the cause of the parent state seemed equally prosperous on the continent, where the affairs of congress were at a very low ebb : the wretched policy of short enlistments laid Washington under the necessity of raising a new army every year, under circumstances of such increasing difficulty, that it soon became almost impossible to levy one at all. The alliance with France had raised a delusive notion in the public mind that the war was in a measure finished ; and that, as the independence of America had been recognised by so powerful an ally, it could not long be disputed by Great Britain : hence the enthusiasm of the people had greatly subsided ; they no longer viewed the contest as one in which each individual had to act in person, but as a common cause for which all were called on to pay : besides, numbers began to make a private gain of the public distresses ; while the pernicious divisions and factions in congress were arrived at such a pitch, that the prospect of a happy issue appeared to the commander in chief much more gloomy than at any former period.³ This situation of

³ ‘I have seen without despondence,’ said he, in a private letter, ‘even for a moment, the hours which America has styled her gloomy ones ; but I have beheld no day since the commencement of hostilities, when I have thought her liberties in such danger as at present. Friends and foes seem now to combine to

the American affairs induced the British general to direct his force against the less populous states of the south, where friends and foes were more equally balanced, and where assistance from the other provinces could not be obtained by the enemy without great expense and loss of time.

The reduction of South Carolina being determined on, Sir Henry Clinton sailed with a force of about 5000 men, under convoy of vice-admiral Arbuthnot; and after a most unfavorable voyage of seven weeks, landed on St. John's island, and proceeded to the vicinity of Charleston, situated between the rivers Ashley and Cooper, and defended by a dangerous bar or sand-bank, behind which the deep water formed a convenient station for the American ships of war, the largest of which carried forty-four and the smallest sixteen guns. The inhabitants, in great consternation, conferred on their governor, John Rutledge, almost dictatorial powers; and with the assistance of French engineers, strengthened their works wherever the town was considered assailable; while general Lincoln, placing the whole chance of saving the province on the fate of the capital, shut himself up in it with 7000 men. Sir Henry Clinton, with due regard to the safety of his troops, made regular approaches, and broke ground at the distance of 800 yards from the works; but the command of the harbor being a requisite preliminary, admiral Arbuthnot prepared to pass the bar, from which the enemy's squadron of nine sail retired, after having sunk eleven vessels of different descriptions across the mouth of Cooper river. Fort Moultrie, although it opened

pull down the goodly fabric we have hitherto been raising at the expense of so much time, blood, and treasure; and unless the bodies politic will exert themselves to bring back things to first principles, correct abuses, and punish our internal foes, inevitable ruin must follow. Indeed, we seem to be verging so fast to destruction, that I am filled with sensations, to which I have been a stranger until these three months. Our enemies behold with exultation and joy how effectually we labor for their benefit; and from being in a state of absolute despair, and on the point of evacuating America, are now on tiptoe: nothing, therefore, in my judgment, can save us but a total reformation in our own conduct, or some decisive turn of affairs in Europe. The former, alas! to our shame be it spoken, is less likely to happen than the latter; as it is now consistent with the views of the speculators, various tribes of money-makers, and stock-jobbers of all denominations, to continue the war for their own private emolument; without considering that this avarice and thirst for gain must plunge every thing, including themselves, in one common ruin.'—*Life of Washington, in American National Portrait Gallery.*

a severe and impetuous fire, did not long retard his progress ; and he cast anchor before the town, near to Fort Johnstone.

A resolute refusal being given to the British summons, batteries were opened on the place, and strong bodies despatched, under colonels Tarleton and Webster, to cut off all intercourse between the garrison and the country. Tarleton had the good fortune to disperse a large force of the enemy at Monk's Corner, capturing all their stores and baggage, with 400 horses ; an acquisition of great importance to the British army, while the conquest secured the passage of Cooper river. By the arrival of a reinforcement from New York, Clinton was enabled to send another detachment across that river, under the command of lord Cornwallis.

The approaches were now carried on with great vigor ; the second parallel was completed on the nineteenth of April, and the third on the sixth of May ; the last of these had been pushed so near to the enemy's works, that the canal to a considerable extent was drained of its water : by this time also the British flag was flying on Fort Moultrie ; preparations were made to batter the town ; and the besieged were summoned to surrender ; but they were not yet sufficiently humbled to comply with the terms proposed. Hostilities were then recommenced ; the batteries on the third parallel were opened, and the works pushed up to the ditch, when a capitulation was agreed to on conditions sufficiently mortifying to the provincials. The whole naval force at Charleston was taken or destroyed, with 400 pieces of ordnance and a large quantity of naval stores ; while near 7000 prisoners, including the governor, council, regular troops, militia, and about 1000 French and American seamen, fell into our hands. The whole province being subdued by some farther operations, in which colonel Tarleton particularly distinguished himself, Sir Henry Clinton retired to New York with the main body of his forces, leaving about 4000 under lord Cornwallis. That nobleman strenuously seconded the efforts made by general Clinton to re-establish loyalty in the mass of the people, and effect a perfect submission to the government of the mother country : his exertions seemed to be attended with success ; and numbers flocked to Charleston with professions of attachment, which, however, were found in most instances to have been the dissimulation of policy or the extortion of fear. Being left at liberty by his instructions to make a move into North Carolina, if it could be done without danger, lord Cornwallis sent some trusty emissaries into that province, informing the loyal-

ists of his intentions to proceed thither, and advising them to reap their harvest, collect provisions, and remain tranquil till his arrival. These prudent instructions, however, were disregarded: a body of loyalists, under colonel More, having assembled prematurely in Tryon county, were attacked and routed; while this insurrection was made a pretext for so violent a persecution, that a body of 800 loyalists were compelled to leave the province, and join major M'Arthur in South Carolina.

The Americans, however, were encouraged by the certainty of speedy aid from Virginia, and a detachment from Washington's army of 6000 men; beside which, the legislature of Virginia had ordered 5000 men draughted from the militia, to act as a corps of observation: the people also of South Carolina began to manifest a change of disposition: the disloyal, who had accepted protection, complained of compulsion, and plainly manifested their antipathy to the British government; while those who, through principle, had availed themselves of Sir Henry Clinton's proclamation, were indignant at seeing these dissemblers enjoying immunities and advantages, which they were ready to turn against the English on the first opportunity. At length, treachery began openly to show itself; and one Lisle carried over to the enemy a battalion of militia, with their arms and ammunition: in the mean time, news of the hostile confederacy of neutral states, and of the political dissensions prevailing in England, gave additional spirit to her enemies in the colony; and congress resolved to make the most strenuous efforts to recover this important member of the union.

The high reputation which general Gates had acquired at Saratoga obtained for him the chief command in the southern department; and his arrival at the scene of action tended to revive the hopes of the provincials. Having collected an army of 4000 men, he prepared at once to drive the British force from their line of posts across the state of South Carolina, and carry the war up to the gates of Charleston. The renewal of hostilities was begun by colonel Sumter, who had retired, after the capture of Charleston, to raise troops in North Carolina, and was now joined by the traitor Lisle; but he was repulsed with very considerable loss in several attacks on Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock. Intelligence of the enemy's formidable preparations induced lord Cornwallis to repair to Camden, though his effective scarcely exceeded 2000; while that advancing under Gates, together with the militia, led by baron de

Kalbe and other officers, amounted to 6000 men. Notwithstanding this disparity, the British general set out two hours before midnight to attack the enemy, having received intelligence of Gates's intention to advance. At two o'clock in the morning of the sixteenth of August, the advanced parties met in the woods, and a Maryland regiment was intirely discomfited in the skirmish which ensued: after this temporary conflict, both armies, as it were by compact, betook themselves to rest, and waited for the morning light. Lord Cornwallis, on reconnoitring, found his situation extremely eligible: a swamp on either side preserved him from being outflanked, and the narrowness of his front lessened the disadvantage of inferior numbers.

At dawn, after both armies had formed in two lines, general Gates attempted to change the position of two brigades of militia, when lord Cornwallis commenced a quick and effective attack. The militia immediately gave way, fled in disorder, and threw the whole pressure of the conflict on the other division, which maintained an obstinate contest; until being attacked on the flank by the cavalry under major Hanger and colonel Tarleton, they were driven into some swamps, and utterly routed. The reserve, consisting of about 2500 regulars, stood their ground firmly for near an hour; but were at length thrown into irretrievable confusion. Gates, who had retired with the militia, endeavored to rally them; but finding all his efforts vain, gave up every thing as lost, and scarcely thought himself secure till he got to the distance of 180 miles from the scene of his misfortune. All the baggage, stores, and camp equipage, together with seven pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors, who lost but 350 men in killed and wounded; while the enemy left 800 dead on the field, and near 1000 prisoners. The young lord Rawdon⁴ particularly distinguished himself in this battle, the advantages of which were completed in the surprise of the bold partisan Sumter, near the Catawba Fords, whose corps of 800 men colonel Tarleton almost annihilated, taking an immense quantity of stores, and recapturing 250 British prisoners.

This victory at Camden was succeeded, on the part of lord Cornwallis, by acts of questionable severity: he not only sequestered the estates of all who opposed the re-establishment of the royal government, but denounced death against those who, after receiving British protection, should join the enemy;

⁴ Afterwards lord Moira, and marquis of Hastings.

and he actually executed some of those whom he had taken in arms: by these means he greatly inflamed the animosity of the provincials, and afforded them a pretext for retaliation which they did not overlook. His lordship then marched to reduce North Carolina, and seized on Charlotte-town; but hearing of the defeat of a body of loyal militia under the gallant major Ferguson, who were attacked at King's Mountain by 1500 backwoodsmen, mounted and armed with rifles; and being also annoyed by the inveterate hostility of the natives; he retreated to his southern station, deferring the prosecution of his enterprise till reinforcements should arrive from New York. General Greene, the confidential friend of Washington, being appointed by congress to supersede Gates, arrived at Charlotte-town on the second of December, where he found the southern army a mere skeleton, without artillery, baggage, or stores: in his front was an enemy flushed with conquest; around him an exhausted country, and the inhabitants, divided into hostile parties, plundering each other with little less than savage fury: money he had none; but he had with him a number of active and devoted officers, on whose exertions he could rely, and the promise of reinforcements from the states through which he had passed on his route. No transaction of importance marked the remainder of the year.

During the absence of Sir Henry Clinton from New York, general Knyphausen adopted judicious measures for its protection: but though the city was, by the extreme severity of the winter, deprived of the defence arising from its insular situation, Washington was not in a condition to venture an attack. No enterprise of importance was attempted by the British before the breaking up of the frost, when general Knyphausen made an ineffectual attempt in New Jersey to re-establish the ancient government. Being joined by Sir Henry Clinton, on his return from Charleston, they burned the town of Springfield, and then retired to New York.

Early this spring the aspect of American affairs began to change, and the hopes of the colonists to revive. La Fayette, after serving with Washington from the battle of Brandywine to that of Monmouth, had returned to France to quicken the exertions of his countrymen; and he now presented himself in the American camp with a promise from the French king of speedy assistance. In July, a French squadron under M. de Ternay, with 6000 troops, commanded by the

count de Rochambeau, arrived at Rhode Island; and to prevent all jealousy, a commission was sent to Washington, appointing him lieutenant-general in the French armies, and investing him with the chief command in America.

While the French ships lay at Newport, waiting the arrival of reinforcements, Sir Henry Clinton proposed to admiral Arbuthnot a plan for attacking Ternay, while the troops proceeded up the sound to co-operate by land. The admiral at first declined it, in hopes of meeting the enemy at sea; and deferred his co-operation till the enemy had strongly fortified their position. Sir Henry proceeded with 8000 men to Huntington-bay on Long Island: but Washington, having received reinforcements, put his army in motion, crossed the North river, and, rapidly advancing towards Kingsbridge, obliged them to desist from their enterprise.

About this time it was expected by the French and American commanders, that they would speedily be joined by de Guichen, with a large reinforcement of troops and ships; in which case New York was to be subjected to a combined attack: but intelligence of the count's flight before the genius of Rodney disconcerted all these schemes, and rendered it necessary for Washington and Rochambeau to have a meeting half-way between their respective camps, in order to consult on new measures. While the former was absent from his army on this service, general Arnold, who commanded at West Point, and who had entered into a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton for betraying that impregnable post to the British, requested that a trusty person might be sent to expedite the plot.

The person who was selected, or rather who volunteered his services, for this important transaction, was the celebrated major André, adjutant-general of the British army; a young man of high spirit and undaunted courage, in whose ability, prudence, and address Sir Henry Clinton reposed unlimited confidence. He was conveyed by night, under the assumed name of Anderson, from the Vulture sloop of war, to the foot of a hill called the Long Clove, where he found Arnold concealed among some firs, and held a conference with him till the approach of day. It was then thought impracticable for André to return on board the sloop, not only from its distance, with an ebb tide, and the hands greatly fatigued; but from the hazard of discovery by the people on shore, who were constantly watching all movements on the river: with a melancholy kind of presentiment therefore, he accompanied the

gentleman⁵ who had conducted him to this interview, to his house, situated on the bank of the Hudson. It unfortunately happened, that during the day which he spent there, the Americans at Gallows-Point directed their fire against the Vulture, and obliged her to fall lower down the river: some other difficulties also occurred with the boatmen; and the major was obliged to attempt reaching New York by land. Having gone ashore to meet Arnold in a military uniform, he borrowed a great coat from his host, and departed, still under his guidance, in the direction of White Plains, till he arrived at Pine's bridge on the river Croton. Here his guide, after having given him directions regarding the road which he was to pursue, returned to his house at Fish Kill;⁶ and on that very evening supped in company with Washington, who had just returned from visiting the count de Rochambeau.

Major André had not proceeded more than six miles, when he was stopped by three men of the New York militia, John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Vert, who seized his horse by the bridle in a narrow part of the wood. In this moment of surprise, the unfortunate man, instead of producing the passport given him by Arnold, asked his interrogators whence they came; and to their reply, 'From below,' he imprudently added, 'So do I;' declaring himself, as it were, a British officer, and requesting that he might not be detained, as he was on urgent business. The men, however, whose suspicions were excited, resisted all his entreaties, though

⁵ Joshua Hett Smith, Esq. This gentleman was involved in great calamities through the share he had in the transaction, and very narrowly escaped with his life. On the discovery of André, he was arrested in bed by a French officer, and immediately carried before general Washington, whose address to him was as follows:—'Sir, do you know that Arnold has fled; and that Mr. Anderson, whom you have piloted through our lines, proves to be major John André, adjutant-general of the British army, now our prisoner? I expect him here under a guard of 100 horse, to meet his fate as a spy; and unless you confess who were your accomplices, I shall suspend you both on yonder tree.' Mr. Smith, having been subjected to much reproach, afterwards published a narrative of the whole affair, in which he accounted for the part he had taken by declaring that he was wholly ignorant of Arnold's plot, and had been imposed on by the representations of that officer, under whose passport he conveyed André to the conference.

⁶ 'He was affected,' says Mr. Smith, 'at parting, and offered me a valuable gold watch in remembrance of him, which I refused.'—Narrative, p. 48.

backed by the offer of his purse and watch, as well as by the promise of a large reward: taking him, therefore, aside to search him, they found several secret papers lodged in his boots; after which they conducted him to lieutenant-colonel Jamison, a provincial officer, who had the command of about 900 militia. The unfortunate major still passed himself under the name of Anderson, lest any discovery should be made which could involve Arnold, before he had time to provide for his safety: with this view, he requested and obtained permission to send a letter to that officer, informing him of Anderson's detention: at the same time, the papers discovered in Arnold's own hand-writing, all relating to the forces and defences at West Point, were forwarded to Washington, accompanied by a letter from André, avowing himself to be the adjutant-general of the British army, but exculpating himself from the imputation of being a spy, as he had come on shore under the sanction of a passport or flag of truce, transmitted to him by Arnold, who was, at that period, a general in the American army, and of course authorised to grant it. Washington at this time was on his return from the conference with count Rochambeau at Hartford, and the messenger missed him by taking a different route from that of the general; so that the letter to Arnold, giving information of Anderson's capture, reached him first. Immediately on the receipt of it, he sprang on the messenger's horse, and dashed down a steep hill to the river, where boats were stationed for the passage to West Point; when, leaping into one of them, he ordered the crew to row him instantly to the Vulture, and had scarcely passed Verplank's Point, when colonel Hamilton arrived there with Washington's order to stop him: but he was now in safety; and on his arrival at New York, received the commission of a brigadier-general in the British service. The life of André, however, became the forfeit of his zeal. Being brought before Washington, he neither concealed nor palliated any thing relating to himself, but observed the most guarded caution on every subject that might criminate others; while the candor and magnanimity of his conduct, united to the ease and dignity of his deportment, inspired a strong sympathy for him in the American army.

His case was submitted by Washington to a board of general officers, of which the baron de Stuben and la Fayette were members, and Greene was president: no precise charge was exhibited against him, the board intending to govern itself intirely by his answers to their interrogatories: by means of

these, reiterated and modified, they extracted from the unfortunate prisoner something like an acknowledgement, that he could not return on board the Vulture under the sanction of the flag which brought him ashore: hence they inferred, that he did not conceive himself under the protection of that flag, after he was once landed within the American lines; and on this inference, they adjudged him to suffer death as a spy, agreeably to the law and usage of nations.

From the moment of his capture, no exertions were spared by Sir Henry Clinton to preserve a man to whom he was sincerely attached; and after promulgation of the sentence, he deputed lieutenant-colonel Robertson to lay before Washington such facts as could not be stated to the board; urging it as a point of the highest concern to humanity, that he should fully understand the whole business, before he proceeded to carry their judgment into execution. General Greene was deputed by Washington to receive the statement; but no argument or solicitation, no offer to exchange any prisoner for the major, no proposal of referring the case to disinterested foreigners, no threat of retaliation, or appeal to humanity, had the slightest effect: Washington justified the decision of the board; Greene was strongly disinclined to revise the sentence; and la Fayette is said to have urged on the fate of the unfortunate captive with a malignity hardly to be reconciled with his chivalrous character.

The compassion, which seemed banished from the breasts of their superiors, was amply displayed by the subalterns and privates of the American, and by all ranks of the British army: they were unable to contemplate without emotion, so amiable and accomplished a young man doomed in the prime of life to an ignominious death, for an act which they could not connect with any dishonorable motive, and which appeared only by a forced construction to bring him under so dreadful a penalty.

The conduct of this unfortunate officer corresponded with the most honorable principles and the finest feelings: during his examination, he studiously avoided every disclosure that could implicate others, and heard the sentence of his judges without alarm or dejection; acknowledging the polite attentions that he had received, and only begging that he might die the death of a soldier. From the day of his trial to that preceding his execution, there was a constant transmission of flags on this unhappy subject; during which interval, he calmly composed his mind with christian fortitude for the result of the

negociation; and, when he was informed that the die was cast, and his destiny fixed by the usages of war; he wrote a letter to Washington, replete with dignified and pathetic sentiments; imploring him, that if aught in his character impressed that general with esteem towards him; if aught in his misfortunes marked him as the victim of policy,⁷ and not of resentment;—he might experience the operation of those feel-

⁷ Unfortunately for major André, he was almost the necessary victim of policy; and this is the only apology that can be made for Washington's unrelenting severity towards so amiable a young officer. No one can be acquainted with the character of Washington, who thinks that resentment had any place in his mind on this sad occasion. In fact, the American army at this time was thinned by desertions; spies were in all their quarters; plots were entered into against their most distinguished men; and if the treachery of Arnold had succeeded, probably the cause of American independence had been lost. He felt it necessary to make a great example; and the effect of it is said to have been complete. The following anecdote, however, if it can be relied on, as given in the life of Aaron Ogden, in the American Portrait Gallery, shows that there was one condition on which the life of André would have been spared; but in that case the example would have been made still more effective. Captain Ogden, then commanding a company in the light infantry under the marquis la Fayette, received an order from the commander in chief, to attend at head quarters next morning, at eight o'clock: he was there met by Washington alone at his tent door, who put into his hand a packet addressed to Sir Henry Clinton at New York, directing him to carry it, with a flag of truce, under an escort of twenty-five dragoons, to the nearest post of the enemy, and deliver it to the commanding officer; and that he should take the best horse he could obtain, and call on the marquis la Fayette for special instructions. These were given to him by la Fayette in the following terms:—'That he should, if possible, get within the British lines at Paulus-hook, and continue there during the night; and that he should privately assure the commanding officer there, without taking him aside, that he, captain Ogden, was instructed to say, that if Sir Henry Clinton would in any way whatever suffer Washington to get Arnold into his power, major André should be immediately released.' Captain Ogden so managed as to get into the post, where he was politely offered accommodation for the night. No opportunity presented itself till supper, when he sat next the commanding officer, into whose ear the communication was whispered: on receiving it, he immediately rose from table, and returned in about two hours from New York, the head quarters of Sir Henry Clinton, with a laconic answer, which was communicated in the same private manner;—'that a deserter was never given up:' he then added aloud—'Captain Ogden, your horse will be ready for your departure early in the morning.'

ings in his breast, by being informed that he was not to die on a gibbet. This letter was not answered, though Washington consulted the board of officers on the subject.⁸ At length, the appointed day arrived; and on the second of October, this unhappy victim of martial law was led out to the place of execution, whither he proceeded arm in arm with the officers of his guard; exhibiting a manly firmness, a dignity of deportment, and a serenity of countenance, which drew tears of sensibility from many an eye: when he approached the fatal spot, and beheld the preparations which announced the disgrace attached to his last moments, he paused, as if absorbed in reflection; then, turning to the officer next him, he exclaimed—‘What! must I die in this manner?’ Being told that it was so ordered, he quickly recovered his fortitude, and said;—‘I am reconciled, and submit to my fate: it will be but a momentary pang.’ With great composure, he performed the last sad offices for himself, and requested all around him to bear witness to the world, ‘that he died like a brave man.’

Arnold, in vindication of his conduct, published an address to the Americans, in which he displayed the factious and false pretences, by which congress had effected the separation of the colonies from the mother country; and had changed the whole nature of the war, by an alliance with France, their natural enemy. He declared, that, preferring the sincere overtures of Great Britain to the insidious offers of France, he had long determined to retain his command only till an opportunity should occur of surrendering it; and of accomplishing some decisive action, which would prevent the farther effusion of blood.

In a subsequent proclamation, addressed to those officers and soldiers of the provincial army who had the real interests of their country at heart, and were resolved to be no longer dupes of congress or of France, he made a strong appeal, but without effect: his account of his own conduct and motives was examined with great severity; and when he complained of the insults and hardships he had undergone, the wounds he had received, and the little hope he entertained of receiving

⁸ It is said, that, overcome by remorse and sorrow, mingled with esteem, they were for granting this request; till Greene, the president, insisted that his crime was that of a common spy, and that the service and good of the American cause required the most exemplary punishment: ‘for,’ said he, ‘if he is shot, mankind will think there are circumstances in his case which entitled him to notice and indulgence.’—Smith’s Narrative, p. 166.

any recompense from an ungrateful country, no one allowed this to be a sufficient justification of his attempt to betray his country's cause: it was impossible that he could deceive himself by such an illusion; the very efforts which he made to excuse his conduct, showed how the stings of conscience were rankling in his heart; and there can be little doubt but that Washington was right, when he wrote in a letter to a friend as follows:—'André has met his fate with that fortitude which was expected from an accomplished man and a gallant officer; but I am mistaken if Arnold is not undergoing at this time the torments of a mental hell.'

The day after André's execution at Tappan, the continental army broke up from that vicinity, and removed first to Pirmus, and soon afterwards to the neighborhood of the Passaick Falls; but no important military transaction distinguished the remainder of the campaign. Washington's great aim was accomplished, while he kept Sir Henry Clinton in constant apprehension of an attack on New York, and prevented him from sending reinforcements to lord Cornwallis, whose situation in the south was becoming very critical. In fact, the greatest pains and the most admirable finesse were employed by the American commander for this purpose: letters, expressive of such an intention, were written with a design that they should be intercepted; pretended deserters also gave false information to the British general, who by these measures, and a variety of judicious military movements, was completely deceived.

Sir George Rodney's observations, while he remained on the American coast, regarding the manner of carrying on the war, were not very favorable to the British commanders:—'I must freely confess,' he says, in a despatch to lord Sandwich, November 13, 1780, 'that there appears to me an inconceivable slackness in every branch of the war; and that briskness and activity, which are so necessary, and ought to animate the whole, to bring it to a speedy conclusion, have intirely forsaken it.' Soon after this declaration, he left the American shores, and returned to his old station in the West Indies. In the European seas, British commerce suffered some blows so severe as to spread a general gloom over the nation: admiral Geary indeed, who had the channel fleet under his command, made prize of twelve French merchant-men from Port-au-prince; but while he proceeded to the southward, in hopes of falling in with a detached squadron of French and Spanish ships, of which he had received intelligence; near fifty sail of

outward-bound East and West India ships were taken by the combined fleets of the enemy, and carried into Cadiz: beside the immense value of the merchandise, many of the ships were laden with stores for the different settlements to which they were destined. This loss, together with that of near 3000 men taken prisoners on board, so increased the public dissatisfaction at the mode of employing the channel fleet, that admiral Geary soon afterwards resigned the command, which was conferred on admiral Darby. The Americans also had their share of naval success in the capture of fourteen valuable ships belonging to the outward-bound Quebec fleet, off the bank of Newfoundland; and these concurrent losses, in their nearer or more remote consequences, affected all classes of people.

The domestic affairs of this year demand but a short notice. On the ninth of June, the earl of Surrey, afterwards duke of Norfolk, and hereditary lord high marshal of England, renounced the errors of popery before the archbishop of Canterbury; and on the fifteenth of June, the dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, being reconciled to the king, went to court for the first time since their respective marriages: on the twenty-second of September, her majesty was safely delivered of prince Alfred, whose death took place August 20, 1782: on the first of November, his royal highness prince Frederic was raised by brevet to the rank of colonel in the British army; and on the thirtieth of December, set out to travel on the continent, accompanied by colonel Grenville. The royal attention was at this time much engaged by the first development of the plan for Sunday-schools; and when Mr. Raikes of Gloucester was soon afterwards at Windsor, the queen sent for him to the Lodge, and honored him with a long audience, in which he explained to her his whole system: at the conclusion, her majesty graciously observed, 'that she envied those who had the power of doing good by thus personally promoting the welfare of society; a pleasure, from which by her station she was debarred.' She not only sanctioned the benevolent plan of Mr. Raikes, but was throughout life an active encourager of the various institutions around Windsor for the instruction and amelioration of the lower classes.

CHAP. XXIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1780.

Meeting of the new parliament—Mr. Cornwall elected speaker—King's speech—Fox's attack on lord Sandwich—Lord North's reply—Rupture with Holland—Notice of it in the session of 1781—Associations appoint delegates—Mr. Burke brings forward the rejected bills of last session—Mr. Pitt's first speech in the house of commons—Other popular efforts—Altered principles of whigs and tories—Supplies, &c.—Other popular subjects discussed in the house—Mr. Sheridan's first speech—System of associations and delegates reproved—Evils in the marriage act corrected—Debates on it—Different opinions of Fox and Burke on the subject—Fox's motion respecting the war—Pitt's speech, and defence of his father's principles—Committees on East Indian affairs—Temporary bill continuing the company's monopoly—End of the session, &c.—East Indian affairs in the Deccan from 1778 to 1786—Attack on Jersey—Gibraltar relieved—Attacked by the Spaniards—Attack on Minorca—Combined fleets in the English channel—Naval action with the Dutch—Commodore Johnstone attacked by de Suffrein—Capture of St. Eustatius—Confiscation of property—Farther operations of the fleets in the West Indies—State of affairs in America—Arnold's expedition to Virginia—State of the American army, &c.—Washington's resources—Lord Cornwallis's Virginian campaign—Large naval force despatched from France under de Grasse—Siege of Cornwallis in Yorktown—His surrender to Washington—Reflections on the events of the campaign.

THE new parliament met on the thirty-first of October, and it was soon found that the returns were sufficiently favorable to the administration. The first debate was occasioned by the election of a speaker; for the hostility shown to ministers by Sir Fletcher Norton during last session precluded him from the hope of nomination by them. Lord George Germaine lamented that the declining health of the late speaker incapacitated him for so laborious a situation, and proposed William Wolfran Cornewall to fill the chair: Sir Fletcher replied to this insincere condolence, that his health was perfectly re-established; and complained of unkind treatment from those, for whose sake he had retained so arduous an office, during two sessions, at the hazard of his life. Opposition insisted

that he was sacrificed to ministerial and royal resentment, and divided the house on his re-election; but were left in a minority of 134 to 203. The king's sentiments, in his speech to parliament, regarding the American contest and the interference of the house of Bourbon, remained unchanged; and he augured the happiest results from the late successes in Georgia and Carolina. The motion for the address excited a warm opposition to the continuance of the war; but the courtiers, particularly lord George Germaine, still affected to believe that the enemy would be speedily reduced to submission. Their opponents, after reviewing the events of the last campaign, insisted, that although the victories were most honorable to the British forces, they did not advance the professed object: ministers had often predicted that certain successful operations would bring the war to a termination; but as often as these predictions were made, they were falsified. Mr. Fox refused to acknowledge the blessings which the nation was said to have enjoyed under his majesty's government; and he asked, 'how long shall the sacred shield of majesty be interposed for the protection of a weak administration?' He acknowledged fully the sovereign's personal virtues; but declared that his whole reign had been one continued series of disgrace and calamity: he also descanted with great severity on the manner of dissolving the late parliament; and compared the famous vote respecting the influence of the crown, to the death-bed confessions and mock penitence of other abandoned profligates, who in their last moments admonish others to avoid courses which may lead them to an untimely end.

Carrying on his accusatorial functions, he gave notice, that, after the holidays, he would move; first, that the earl of Sandwich should be dismissed; and, next, that he should be brought to condign punishment: that he would found these motions on two distinct causes; for advising his majesty to promote Sir Hugh Palliser to the government of Greenwich-hospital, and for shameful neglect of the navy. On the fourth of December, the day fixed for taking the navy estimates into consideration, the subject of Sir Hugh's appointment was introduced; on which occasion lord North displayed one of his greatest parliamentary excellences, a readiness of reply: the appointment, he said, was not the act of lord Sandwich alone, but of the other ministers in conjunction with him. Mr. Fox's principal objection to the nomination was, that the court martial on admiral Keppel had imputed unworthy motives to his accuser: in this it had exceeded its jurisdiction,

sitting on Keppel, not on Palliser, whom they did not hear in his own defence. The second objection was, that Sir Hugh had been barely acquitted : but this interpretation was confuted by the sentence itself, which declared that his conduct on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of July was so far from being reprehensible, that in many parts it appeared exemplary and meritorious : now, exemplary conduct meant such as was fit for imitation ; and that which was fit for imitation was surely an object of requital and reward. On the sixth of December the recess took place.

There had long been a latent hostility between this country and Holland : ever since the commencement of the American contest, the Dutch had shown a partiality for the republicans, even beyond what might have been expected from the avidity of a mercantile people. Frequent memorials and remonstrances had passed on both sides ; and the breach gradually expanded, till matters came to an extremity, by a discovery that the city of Amsterdam was about to enter into a commercial treaty with the American provinces. This discovery took place in September, through the capture of an American packet, on board of which was Mr. Laurens, late president of congress, who was empowered by that body to conclude the treaty. His papers, which had been thrown overboard in the moment of danger, were recovered, and submitted to the inspection of the British cabinet : Mr. Laurens himself was committed to the Tower, on his refusal to answer interrogatories ; and a spirited remonstrance was made to the States of Holland, requiring a disavowal of the transaction, as well as the punishment of the pensionary, Van Berkel, and his accomplices in the French faction, which was driving the nation to the espousal of an uncertain cause against an old and powerful ally. This memorial producing no redress, Sir Joseph Yorke presented another in terms still more cogent and definitive ; which also failing in effect, a royal manifesto was issued on the twentieth of December, declaring hostilities against the States, and exhibiting a clear statement of his majesty's motives.

When parliament re-assembled in the month of January, 1781, it was announced that letters of marque and reprisal had been issued against the States-General and their subjects ; and the various charges against them were summed up by lord North in his speech on that occasion. His lordship lamented the necessity of a war with Holland ; but it appeared to him an unavoidable measure : he confessed that the situation of this country was truly alarming, though the public prospects

were less gloomy than some gentlemen thought proper to represent them. Our difficulties were great, but he trusted not insuperable: he was neither desirous of concealing their magnitude, nor afraid to meet them; for the force of this nation, when fully exerted, was equal to the contest; and the only means of obtaining a just and honorable peace was to show ourselves capable of carrying on the war with vigor.

Notwithstanding the destructive consequences of political fury, as exemplified by the scenes which occurred last year in the metropolis, the associations formed in various parts of the kingdom did not dissolve; but still endeavored to stimulate opposition, by inflammatory resolutions, not only against fancied invasions of public rights, but against the license supposed to be now granted to military authority. The danger of these meetings was much increased by the new and unconstitutional measure of appointing delegates to transact their business in the capital, and to promote the object of their petitions. Mr. Burke received from many of these bodies complimentary addresses for his efforts in the cause of reform; and, in compliance with their requests, he again brought forward the rejected bills of last session, introducing his motion by reading the famous resolutions regarding the increased influence of the crown, the power of the house to correct abuses in the civil list, and the duty of the commons to afford the redress required by the petitions of the people: he considered these bills as a valuable legacy from the late parliament, and an atonement for its previous criminal servility: they were the result of long and deliberate debate; and he trusted the new parliament would make it a point of duty to carry the wishes of the people into effect. He then described the fate of his former bills, and lamented the versatility of parliament, through which his labors had been lost to the country: he defended himself against all imputations on the revival of an unsuccessful proposition; and vindicated his plan, as no less useful to the king than salutary to the people. After again adverting in high terms of praise to the system adopted in France by Neckar, he implored the house not to treat his proposition with respect at the outset, and then put it to a lingering death; and he urged lord North, if he meant to deal the blow, to save the time of the house, and prevent much public anxiety and disappointment, by settling the matter at once, and becoming, for one day at least, a decisive minister. Four able speeches were expended by Mr. Burke on this measure, but in vain. Much of his illustration and reasoning was new; and his reply,

on a subject seemingly exhausted, so brilliant, that the commendations given to his industry, eloquence, and wit, even by the ministerial side of the house, were unprecedented: it became a common remark, that he was the only man in the country capable of forming and effecting an able and systematic plan of reform.

In support of this measure, Mr. Pitt made his first speech in parliament. His rising on the occasion was almost accidental; for while lord Nugent was speaking against the bill, Mr. Byng, member for Middlesex, asked him, whether he intended to address the house: he at first hesitated, but concluded with a determination to remain silent. However, at the conclusion of lord Nugent's speech, Mr. Byng called out his name: the call was echoed by the house; and Mr. Pitt, perceiving that he was expected to speak, rose up for that purpose. Immediately the whole house was fixed in mute attention; the genius of Chatham was recollected; and the most intense curiosity was excited, to ascertain how great a portion of it had descended on his son: and never, perhaps, were expectations more completely answered, than when the youthful orator, standing up amidst a circle of the most skilful speakers and statesmen, delivered himself in favor of the bill, with such facility and animation, with a voice and language so harmonious and energetic, with so much of his father's fire, combined with closer reasoning and clearer arrangement,—as to extort unqualified praise from both parties in the house.

Several other popular measures, proposed in the last session, were now revived; as the bills against contractors and revenue-officers, and for imposing a tax on places and pensions: but all met with a similar fate. In this struggle between government and the people, it was remarked, that the principles on which the distinctions of whig and tory had been founded, appeared to be lost; and the parties possessing them, to have changed sides; for the sentiments of the latter in the two preceding reigns were utterly repugnant to a corrupt influence of the crown over the two houses. If it be said that the body of the whigs were at this time as clamorous against the power of parliament as they once were against the power of the crown, and that the tories became as yielding to the influence acquired by the crown as formerly to the claims of prerogative, it may be answered, that still the political principles, to which each party attached itself, were very different from those which divided their forefathers.⁹

⁹ See Lord North's Administration, p. 398.

The public service of this year demanded the sum of £22,458,337; to provide for which, beside some extraordinary aid from the East India company and the Bank, with £480,000 from a lottery, £12,000,000 were borrowed on a new plan; while it seemed as if the continuance of the war served only to increase the ability of the nation to maintain it: to lessen the immediate weight of interest, the minister added a great load to the funded debt. Subscribers to the loan, for every £100, obtained £150 in annuities, after the rate of three per cent; and an additional annuity of £25 at four per cent, to be continued till the annuity should be redeemed: so that this year added £18,000,000 to the three per cent stocks, and £3,000,000 to the four per cent.

The interest on this loan amounted to £660,000; to pay which most of the excise duties were increased by an addition of five per cent: a farther duty was laid also on the importation of tobacco and sugar. Several regulations were made in the duty on paper; and an additional stamp was laid on sheet almanacs; from the produce of which £500 per annum was granted to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in lieu of a sum formerly paid to them by the Stationers' company for the privilege of printing almanacs. A vote of credit for a million completed the financial arrangements.

The sudden rise in the value of scrip to more than ten per cent above the original purchase, through which immense fortunes were made by several of lord North's friends and adherents,¹⁰ produced many serious imputations and motions against the minister. Mr. Fox proposed that the lists of both subscribers and proposers should be laid before the house; but his lordship would not consent to the application of that test: cautiously avoiding a detailed answer to Mr. Fox, he declared generally that he had made the best bargain he was able to make; and this conduct, injurious as it was both to the financial and political interests of the country, was defended and sanctioned by the house. Nor were these the sole attempts made by opposition to gain popularity from the discussion of questions interesting to the public. The interference of the military in the late riots was introduced to the notice of the house by Mr. Sheridan, whose splendid talents were first exhibited in parliament this session. He delivered a very severe philippic against administration, adorned with glowing language,

¹⁰ His favorite contractor, Mr. Atkinson, made an immediate profit of £330,000.

and abounding in pointed invectives: but after a long debate, in which the conduct of government, in the suppression of the tumult, and the indictment of lord George Gordon, was strenuously defended, all the motions on this subject were negatived.

The principle and legality of associations, particularly the dangerous system of delegates, had before engaged the attention of the house; and had been stigmatised by Mr. Adam, as spreading baleful effects over the country, and affording encouragement to its enemies: they now came more fully into discussion, when a petition for reform, signed by thirty-two of these mock representatives, was offered to the house by Mr. Duncombe on the second of April; and a motion was afterwards made by Sir George Savile for referring it to a committee. This was rejected by a majority of 212 to 135, after the contents of the petition and the unconstitutional character of the delegates had been severely reprobated.

The re-election of Sir Hugh Palliser to a seat in parliament furnished a topic for several motions; and the transactions of the courts martial on him and admiral Keppel were frequently discussed, but without interesting the public.

In this session, an inconvenience, which had arisen from the marriage-act of 1751, occasioned a clause in that law to be corrected. It had been enacted that no marriage could be valid, unless solemnised in a church, or some other place wherein the celebration of nuptials was lawful before the act. A pauper, with a large family, who had been married in a chapel erected after that period, was refused a settlement by his parish, on the plea of his not being a married man; and the court of king's bench, though lamenting the hardship of the case, was obliged, in conformity with the statute, to justify the recusants. Through ignorance or inadvertency, many married persons were in the same predicament; and great numbers of innocent children were consequently bastardised: lord Beauchamp therefore proposed an act of retrospective operation, which passed unanimously, to render such marriages valid and their issue legitimate. The consideration of this particular clause led many to take a review of the whole act; and Mr. Fox brought in a bill to repeal it, which was rejected without a division. The motion excited much notice, by bringing forward Mr. Burke as its principal opponent; the two friends supporting their respective views with great ability. Those of Mr. Fox, who considered the inclination of the contracting parties as the sole criterion of proper

marriages, were thought to be too general, and savoring of a democratic spirit: Mr. Burke contended, that during the minority of parties, the sanction of parents, or of nearest relations, was requisite in so important a case. 'The marriage-act,' he said, 'hit the just mean between a mischievous restraint, and that laxity which formerly occasioned so much social disorder.' Dr. Bisset observes,¹¹ that 'concerning the control to which natural liberty should be subjected for the sake of general expediency, those two illustrious men manifested, on this occasion, a diversity of opinion, which was not much regarded at the time; but from subsequent proceedings and events, it has been carefully noted by those who have examined the series and system of their respective principles and conduct.'

Late in the session Mr. Fox moved for a committee to take the American war into consideration; intimating his intention to propose a resolution, for concluding peace with those whom it was now impossible to subdue. This motion was a kind of test to the new members; and most of the speeches, in the long debate which ensued, contained some general principles or professions of political faith. In answer to certain observations reflecting on lord Chatham, whose opinions were stated to have been favorable to the principle of those measures which had given rise to the war with our colonies, Mr. Pitt felt it necessary to rise and vindicate his father. It was at a late hour; the house was fatigued; and the question loudly called for: but the moment it was perceived that he was about to speak, all noise and impatience ceased; and he was heard with that silent attention, which the recollection of his previous display of talent could not fail to command.

He declared that the noble person, whose name had been so often mentioned in the course of the debate, heartily reprobated the American war in its principle, its progress, and its ultimate objects; and that he never gave a vote or opinion opposed to those sentiments: this was well known to those who had acted with him; and there were living witnesses and other innumerable circumstances to confirm it. The only opinion expressed by lord Chatham, from which a contrary inference could be deduced, was, that the British legislature had a right to impose on the colonists duties for the regulation of commerce; duties incidental to the extension of trade, for the mutual benefit of both countries; but not a single tax or duty

¹¹ History of the Reign of George III., vol. iii. p. 262.

of any kind for the purpose of raising a revenue in America to be remitted home, and to be disposed of by the British parliament. This however was only a speculative opinion, totally distinct from those doctrines and measures from which the war originated.

After this exposition of his father's sentiments, Mr. Pitt took the opportunity of stating his own. 'In whatever point of view he considered the American war, it confirmed him in the opinions which he had early formed concerning its origin and tendency: it was conceived in injustice; it was brought forth and nurtured in folly; its footsteps were marked with blood, persecution, and devastation: its mischiefs however recoiled on this unhappy country, which became drained of its vital resources in men and treasure. And what had the British nation received in return? Nothing but a series of ineffective victories, or severe defeats; victories, celebrated only by a temporary triumph over our brethren, whom we were attempting to trample down and destroy; which filled the land with mourning for the loss of dear and valuable relations, slain in vain attempts to enforce unconditional submission, or with narratives of the glorious exertions of men struggling under every difficulty and disadvantage in the sacred cause of liberty. Where was the Englishman, who, on reading the accounts of these sanguinary and well-fought battles, could refrain from lamenting the loss of so much British blood spilled in such a contest; or from weeping, on which ever side victory might be declared? Add to this, the melancholy consideration, that to whatever quarter we looked, we could perceive nothing but natural and powerful enemies, or lukewarm and faithless friends, rejoicing in our calamities, and meditating our ultimate downfall.' After dwelling with great energy on the evils already occasioned by the war, he concluded by warning ministers of the still more disastrous and fatal events which must inevitably attend its farther prosecution.

The lord advocate Dundas,¹² a uniform supporter of the war, and one of the ablest debaters in favor of ministers, replied to Mr. Pitt; and he concluded by observing, with a kind of prophetic eulogy, 'that however unwilling he might be to say in the honorable gentleman's presence, what truth would exact from him if he were absent; that he found himself com-

¹² He afterwards attached himself strongly to the rising fortunes of Pitt, and was raised by him to the peerage under the title of lord Melville.

pelled to rejoice in the good fortune of his country and his fellow subjects, who were destined at some future day to derive the most important services from so happy a union of first-rate abilities, high integrity, and persuasive eloquence.' Mr. Fox's motion was lost by a majority of 172 to 99.

East Indian affairs also came before the house this session. Petitions were presented from various parties in Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, complaining that the supreme court of judicature, established in 1773, had greatly exceeded its powers, and unlawfully extended its jurisdiction. A select committee was, at the instance of general Smith, appointed to discuss the affairs of India; the proposer being nominated chairman: to this committee the petitions were referred; and their investigation produced a variety of information, which afterwards extended the objects of inquiry to deliberative and executive, as well as to judicial acts. Though all parties agreed on the necessity of caution and delicacy, yet it appeared to them that there were among the company's servants counteracting interests that materially injured the value of Indian possessions. The committee had prepared a long report, when intelligence arrived that affairs were in such a state throughout the Carnatic, as induced the minister to propose a secret committee, including an inquiry into the general management of our Indian territories: this was carried, and Mr. Henry Dundas appointed chairman. Lord North submitted various propositions to the house, as subjects for discussion only: of these, the most important were, 'whether it would be expedient to throw open the trade to India; to grant a monopoly to another company; or to bestow a new charter on the present, and reserve to the public a share of its profits; whether the crown ought to take the territorial possessions and revenues into its own hands, or leave them to the management of a mercantile association?' These topics, amply discussed, turned the attention of members towards Indian affairs, and prepared them for understanding the nature and tendency of such plans as should be afterwards proposed. The minister introduced a temporary bill, continuing the company's monopoly for a limited time, until a more comprehensive and permanent plan should be formed.

On the eighteenth of July the session closed; when the king thanked his parliament for their exertions during so long and important a period; expressing his satisfaction, that in the midst of so many and complicated difficulties, the ancient spirit of the British nation was not diminished.

The military affairs of India, connected as they had become

with the American contest, now call for a brief notice. Deep discontent against the English was rankling in the mind of Hyder Ali: he had once earnestly courted their alliance; doubtless for his own purposes, but on the fair principle, that each contracting party should assist the other against the overwhelming power of the Mahrattas. The conduct, however, of the Anglo-Indian government in the late war, when they saw his very existence so long endangered, without making an effort for his relief, finally disgusted him, and made him place all his hopes of future aggrandisement on their destruction. The Mahratta counsels also had undergone a complete change: instead of threatening invasion, they sent proposals to Hyder for an alliance against the British; and although the latter, sensible of the advantages of a union with the Mysorean chief, now made overtures for an alliance, with a promise of defending him against any foreign attack, they only tended to increase his irritation. At this crisis intelligence was received of the European war; and the subjects of Louis, with their usual diplomatic activity, opened a communication with Hyder, whom they found very favorably disposed towards them. As soon, however, as hostilities commenced, the British government formed a comprehensive plan for the reduction of all the French possessions in India. Chandernagore, with the factories at Masulipatam and Carical, surrendered without resistance; and Pondicherry, the fortifications of which had been diligently reconstructed, capitulated after a short siege, and was again dismantled. To this conquest Hyder made no opposition: but when the Madras government announced its intention of reducing Mahé, a French fortress on the Malabar coast, through which he obtained military stores, he decidedly objected; insisting, that as the surrounding territory had been conquered by his arms, it was now included in his dominions. The presidency, however, did not consider this argument weighty enough to deter them from attacking a French possession; but sent an expedition, which soon reduced the place; and Hyder's resentment became more rooted than ever.

The Madras government, even when they adopted a more judicious line of policy towards the Mysorean prince, unfortunately shut their eyes to the possibility of its failure: they never expected to become objects of his hostility, though he seems to have made no secret of his vindictive feelings, or to have abstained from proceedings calculated to rouse them from their security: he was, in fact, preparing an expedition on a large scale; and the nabob Mohammed Ali, whose intelligence

respecting the designs of the native powers was generally accurate, gave notice of the impending storm, and pressed on government the necessity of defensive measures: but his system of policy was no longer in favor with the council, and his predictions were discredited: every thing hostile to Hyder was regarded as the advice of one who had long misled them on the subject; so that the government was wholly unprepared for the tremendous blow.

Early in June, 1780, Hyder quitted Seringapatam, and at the frontiers of his realm took the command of one of the finest armies that was ever seen in Southern India: it consisted of 30,000 cavalry, 15,000 regular infantry, and 40,000 irregular troops, besides a rocket-corps of 2000 men, 100 pieces of artillery, 5000 pioneers, 400 Europeans, and a commissariat, excellently organised, under the direction of a Brahmin, named Poorneah. With this tremendous force he urged his way, slowly and circumspectly, through the Ghauts, and burst like a mountain torrent into the Carnatic; no care having been taken to guard those mountain defiles. A few days afterwards, and before orders had been issued for the movement of a single soldier, dark columns of smoke, mingled with flame, were seen from St. Thomas's Mount, distant nine miles from Madras: the fruits of the earth and the labors of man were reduced to ashes, and a wide circle of desolation was drawn round the city, extending inland more than thirty miles. Around Vellore he drew a similar circle, whose radius was about thirteen miles; the rest of the country being spared, with a view to its permanent occupation. Notwithstanding this terrible devastation, Hyder was less detested by the natives as a destroyer, than hailed as a deliverer; so oppressive and odious had been the united sovereignty of the company and the nabob. Almost every fortress opened its gates at his approach, and the whole country, north of the Coleroon, submitted to his sway.

As soon as the first and great alarm had subsided, government began to reflect on the means of resistance: its immediate care was to secure some of the strong places held by the nabob's troops, on whose fidelity no reliance could be placed: Wandewash and one other were thus preserved; the former by the uncommon skill and gallantry of lieutenant Flint, who accomplished in safety a fatiguing march of thirty miles, deviating to unfrequented paths: by a bold stratagem he obtained possession of the fort; for the gates were shut against him, and the nabob's kelledar was on the point of surrendering it to Hyder.

The next object was to call in a strong force of near 3000 men, under colonel Baillie, in the northern Circars; and Sir Hector Munro, the commander in chief, undertook to meet them with the main body at Conjeveram, about fifty miles from the capital. Colonel Baillie, in order to reach the place of rendezvous, was obliged to take an inland route; and being detained ten days by the swelling of the river Cortelaur, was attacked on the other side by Hyder Ali's eldest son Tippoo, with a large detachment, over whom, after a well-fought action of several hours, he gained a complete victory: but the diminution of his numbers added greatly to his distress; while Hyder, under cover of a feigned movement against Sir Hector Munro, interposed his whole force between the two English divisions. In this dilemma, it was determined by a council of war at head quarters, to send such a reinforcement under colonel Fletcher and captain Baird,¹³ as might enable colonel Baillie to push forward across the country, covered though it was with the enemy's detachments. As the security of this party depended on the very difficulties of the way, as well as the silence and secrecy of their march, colonel Fletcher refused the offer of four six-pounders; and set out at nine o'clock at night, each man carrying two days' provision of rice, biscuit, and arrack, for the relief of their suffering friends. Hyder, however, had such accurate intelligence respecting all their movements, that he despatched a strong corps to cut them off on their march: but the British commander, having a suspicion of his guides, who were actually in the pay of the sultan, suddenly changed his route, and by a circuitous line through swamps and rice-fields, effected the desired junction with Baillie's corps, which he thus raised to 3700 men. Hyder burst into furious invectives against his officers, and still determined to intercept the united corps. Under his own inspection, the most covert and difficult ground in their line of march was occupied and enfiladed with cannon; large bodies of his best infantry were placed in ambuscade on either side; while he himself, with his main army, was posted in readiness to support an attack.

Colonel Baillie first attempted a movement by night, in order to gain ground, and take that advantage which a superiority of discipline would have given him, if then assailed; but meeting with some obstacles, he determined, contrary to Fletcher's advice, to delay his march till morning. At daylight

¹³ Afterwards Sir David Baird.

on the tenth of September, this unfortunate corps silently advanced, in close column, into the very midst of the toils prepared for them. On a sudden, while they were in a narrow defile, a battery of twelve guns poured a destructive shower of grape-shot into their ranks: the English faced about, and another opened on their rear: they had no choice therefore but to advance, when they were met by other batteries; and in less than half an hour, fifty-seven pieces of cannon were brought to bear on every part of their line. At about seven in the morning the enemy came on by thousands, and every man was engaged: the grenadiers under captain Baird greatly distinguished themselves: attacked on all sides by 25,000 cavalry, thirty regiments of sepoy, Hyder's European corps, and a numerous artillery, this heroic column remained firm and undaunted, facing their foes on every side, and performing their evolutions with as much coolness and precision as if on parade.

The British had only ten pieces of cannon; but these were so admirably served, that they made terrible havoc among the enemy. After a contest of three hours, victory began to incline towards the English; Hyder himself was about to give orders for retreat, and the French officers who commanded the artillery began to draw off their guns; when by some accident the tumbrels containing the ammunition blew up with two dreadful explosions, in the centre of the British lines. Thus their artillery was rendered useless; the fortune of the day was changed, and the conquerors were left at the mercy of the vanquished.

The brave sepoy being cut to pieces after a most valiant resistance, the British commanders rallied the Europeans for one more desperate effort, and under fire of the enemy's cannon, gained an eminence: in this position they formed a square; and though totally without ammunition, defended themselves against thirteen successive attacks, the soldiers fighting with their bayonets, and the officers with their swords. Even when they were borne down by torrents of fresh troops, they disdained to yield, and many continued fighting under the legs of the elephants and horses. The loss of the English in this conflict was 4000 sepoy and 600 Europeans: colonel Fletcher was among the slain; colonel Baillie, with captain Baird, who was severely wounded in four places, several other officers, and 200 Europeans, were made prisoners, and reserved for the horrors of a captivity worse than death. Since much of the slaughter in Hyder's army was imputed to the grenadiers,

captain Baird, who commanded them, was chained by the leg to another prisoner.¹⁴

The first advantage drawn by the sultan from this victory was the reduction of Arcot: he held also in close siege Wandewash, Vellore, and other important bulwarks of the Carnatic. To remedy the disasters produced by the imbecillity of the Madras government, Sir Eyre Coote, a veteran officer of high reputation, was sent by governor Hastings, and invested with independent powers: he carried with him 560 European troops; and a strong corps of sepoy was prepared to march along the coast as soon as the rainy season would permit: at the same time, Mr. Whitehill, the president of Madras, was suspended from his functions, and the funds for the prosecution of the war were placed in the hands of the commander in chief. Sir Eyre, on his arrival, found every thing in a wretched state; the people treacherous, and all resources cut off: his first concern was to send despatches to Sir Edward Hughes and general Goddard, urging them to distress as much as possible the possessions of Hyder on the Malabar coast, and to cultivate terms of peace and friendship with the Mahrattas.

With about 7000 troops at his disposal, of which 1700 only were Europeans, the British general eagerly desired to encounter his enemy in the field: what he dreaded was the harassing warfare carried on by Hyder in a country which he had reduced to a state of desolation. When the British army marched, it resembled, in some respects, a caravan preparing to cross the desert: every thing necessary to support life was carried with the troops; and as they advanced in close column, through desolated tracks, clouds of the enemy's cavalry hovered around them: these native warriors, finding that the British soldiers would not waste their ammunition against individuals, rode close up to the ranks, uttering words of fierce defiance, or invitations to single combat. Captain Dallas, an officer of great personal prowess, successfully encountered several chiefs; but in this mode of fighting the Indians generally had the advantage.

Harassing as was this warfare, still, while the sultan continued to decline a combat, he was obliged to raise the siege of every place near which the English directed their march; though their troops became at length so exhausted and

¹⁴ He remained three years and a half in this imprisonment at Seringapatam, being released in March, 1784.

destitute, that the commander saw no prospect of relief but in a general action; and this he could scarcely hope to bring on: but Hyder, at length encouraged by the appearance of a French fleet on the coast, and a repulse sustained by the English at the pagoda of Chillumbrum, intrenched his army in a strong position near Cuddalore, where he could at once maintain his communication with the sea, and cut off his enemy's supplies. The post was extremely strong; but on the first of July, Sir Eyre Coote skilfully led his troops through a passage formed by the enemy for a different purpose; drew up his troops in face of several powerful batteries, as well as a vast body of cavalry; and finally carried all before him. Hyder was struck with astonishment at the success of the attack, and burst into the most furious rage: seated on an eminence in the rear, he refused to move from the spot, until a confidential attendant almost by force drew the buskins on his legs, and placed him on a fleet horse, which quickly bore him out of danger.

This victory enabled the British general to relieve Wandewash, which was closely besieged by Tippoo: and after divers marches and countermarches, Hyder took up a position near the village of Polilloor, where colonel Baillie had suffered his defeat. There Sir Eyre attacked him, and an action more bloody than decisive ensued; for the British were in all quarters exposed to a severe cross-fire. Mr. Mill asserts that Sir Eyre's movements were paralysed by a dispute with Sir Hector Munro; and that if Hyder had made a vigorous charge, he might have won the victory. At length, however, he yielded the ground on which the battle was fought; and the English reached it over the dead bodies of their yet unburied countrymen, who had fallen in the former action.

The English army acquired neither reputation nor strength by this engagement: but having heard that the fortress of Vellore was reduced to extremity, and that Hyder was posted at Sholinghur; the British general, on the twenty-seventh of September, pushed forward with such vigor that he had nearly surprised the Indians before they could form their ranks: having put them to flight, after they had made several brisk charges, and lost near 5000 men, he was enabled to march on Vellore, and raise the siege. While the war was carried on with various success, intelligence arrived of the quarrel between England and Holland; when lord Macartney, the new

president of Madras,¹⁵ a nobleman, whose urbanity, moderation, and firmness admirably qualified him for the office, formed a design of reducing Negapatam, the principal Dutch settlement. Finding Sir Eyre Coote, who was invested with exclusive power over the troops, averse to this plan, he formed a separate corps of 4000 men; and placing it under Sir Hector Munro, endeavored with equal wisdom and calmness to soothe the irritability of the veteran general, which was heightened by the infirmities of age, and the difficulties of his situation. The enterprise was conducted vigorously and successfully: five lines of redoubts were carried with such intrepidity, that a garrison of 8000 men capitulated in fourteen days; all the other Dutch settlements on the same coast fell into our hands; and Trincomalee, their most important station in Ceylon, was stormed by a detachment of sepoy and artillerymen under Sir Edward Hughes.

The year 1782 was an eventful one. The arrival of the French admiral, de Suffrein, who had been detached from the fleet of the count de Grasse, opened a prospect of crushing the British power: on the fifteenth of February, he bore down, with twelve ships of the line, six frigates, and eight large transports, to attack Sir Edward Hughes in the open road of Madras; but on discovering that the British admiral had been reinforced by two line-of-battle ships and the Isis frigate, he stood out to sea, when the English recaptured five English transports, and took a large French one, loaded with artillery and stores for Hyder. The efforts of de Suffrein to protect his convoy produced an engagement, which was distinguished only by the gallantry with which five British ships, separated from the rest, repelled the attack of the enemy's fleet.

Another engagement, equally undecisive, occurred on the twelfth of April; but the effect was to make Hyder Ali more desirous of peace by exhausting his patience, when he experienced how delusive were the promises of his French allies. The contest between the two fleets was twice renewed during the year: on the sixth of July, a victory was nearly gained by the English, when a sudden squall saved the defeated enemy, and enabled them to retreat: on the sixth of September, Sir Edward sailed to the relief of Trincomalee: but though he arrived too late, he encountered the French fleet, which again owed its safety to flight; when de Suffrein broke

¹⁵ He arrived at Fort St. George in June, 1781.

six of his captains, and sent them to the Mauritius. The fifth and last conflict which took place between these antagonists, was in the following year, at the siege of Cuddalore, when the English fleet was reduced to a miserable condition by the scurvy: it was fought at a considerable distance; and, like the others, terminated without a capture on either side.

In January, 1782, the French fleet, which arrived on the Coromandel coast, after intercepting several vessels bound to Madras with grain, landed 2000 men at Porto Novo: they were soon joined by a large detachment under Tippoo, who had lately inflicted on the English one of the deepest wounds which they sustained during the war. Colonel Braithwaite, who was stationed with about 2000 troops on the banks of the Coleroon, for the protection of Tanjore, being misled by false information, which his crafty foe contrived to throw in his way, found himself suddenly surrounded by an army ten times as numerous as his own: his little band made a gallant resistance, repelling the most desperate and reiterated assaults for the space of twenty-six hours; but a charge by the French troops under general Lally having broken the ranks of the sepoys, the whole were routed, and either killed or forced to surrender: the French officers displayed that humanity which had distinguished them in these campaigns; and Tippoo himself treated his prisoners with less cruelty than usual.

But notwithstanding this victory, Hyder had cause for serious alarm: through the indefatigable exertions of Warren Hastings, the Mahrattas had withdrawn from his alliance, and even bound themselves to guaranty the British territory, as it stood at the period of their last treaty; while a strong detachment, which he sent to besiege Tellicherry, had been beaten and compelled to surrender by a force despatched from Bombay. Strengthened however by his French auxiliaries, he took Cuddalore, and proceeded to besiege the important position of Wandewash; but was driven from that post by Sir Eyre Coote, forced to retreat towards Pondicherry, and defeated in a battle with considerable loss at Arnee: the British general then threw supplies into Vellore, and undertook an expedition against Cuddalore, which only failed for want of naval co-operation. Madras was at this time suffering under accumulated evils: the ravages of Hyder Ali had driven crowds from all quarters to seek refuge in the capital, where multitudes were daily perishing of want: famine now raged in all its horrors; and the numbers of dead and dying threat-

ened pestilence as an addition to the calamity. The bodies of those who expired in the streets or houses, were daily collected, and piled in carts, to be buried in large trenches outside the town: for a considerable time 1200 or 1500 a week are said to have thus perished. Fortunately, the French had no information or conception of this miserable and unprotected state of the presidency before supplies were received from Bengal and the Circars.

In the mean time, success again attended the British arms on the Malabar coast, whither Tippoo and Lally had hastened with a large force to retrieve the Mysorean interests: but colonel Macleod, who had lately taken the command, intrenched himself so strongly at Paniani, that the enemy were repulsed with great loss. Tippoo was preparing with a large force to renew the attack, when he was recalled by an event involving consequences of deeper interest to himself than could have ensued from the most brilliant victory over the English: this was the death of Hyder Ali, who expired on the seventh of December, 1782, at the age of more than eighty years. The decease of an Indian prince is generally a crisis for the power which he may have reared; for his army almost always becomes disorganised and dispersed under different leaders; while his ministers form plots in favor of different competitors for the throne. This danger was great as it regarded the family of Hyder Ali, whose active mind was the grand principle of movement both in the court and in the army: but his profound sagacity had enabled him to choose ministers, who, in the hour of trial, stood faithful to himself and to his house. Having kept the death of Hyder a profound secret from all but the most confidential persons in the court, and suppressed an attempt made by Mohammed Ameen to place the second son on his father's throne, they despatched messengers to Tippoo, who instantly suspended his operations against the English, and effected a rapid march across the peninsula. On the second of January, 1783, he made a private entry into the camp; when, after the usual distribution of pay and donatives, he was recognised as commander of the army, and sovereign of Mysore.

Notwithstanding the most studied concealment, the presidency at Madras received early notice of Hyder's death, and urgently pressed their commander in chief to take advantage of that state of disorganisation in the Mysorean government, which was expected to follow: unfortunately, however, the council at Madras was itself in a state of utter insubordination

and dissension. General Stuart, who had succeeded Sir Eyre Coote in command of the forces, claimed the same dictatorial power, which under peculiar circumstances had been conferred on his predecessor; while lord Macartney naturally required the subordination of the military to the civil administration. The general, therefore, to vindicate his supposed rights, acted in direct contradiction to instructions issued from the presidency. He first expressed doubts of Hyder's death; then said he would move in proper time; afterwards declared that his troops were not in a condition to march; and, finally, undertook no movement until sixty days after Hyder's death, and thirty-four after Tippoo's succession had been quietly proclaimed. This state of dissension between the civil and military authorities was so injurious to the public service, that the supreme government despatched Sir Eyre Coote to resume the command, with nearly the same unlimited power as before; though lord Macartney decidedly objected to such an arrangement: but the gallant veteran, overcome by the hardships of his voyage, expired on the twenty-sixth of April, 1783, two days after his arrival at Madras.

The contest, however, in the Carnatic had assumed a more favorable aspect; for Tippoo, considering Western India as the principal theatre of war, had evacuated Arcot, and withdrawn his troops to that quarter: in consequence, it was determined to attack Cuddalore, where the French had, under the marquis de Bussy, concentrated their main force, assisted by a large body of native infantry. Mutual complaints and recriminations passed on this occasion between the commander in chief and the Madras government; but an assault, which took place on the thirteenth of June, gave the contested position to the English, though with a loss of 1000 men: yet Suffrein, the French admiral, having gained a superiority by sea, and landed a large reinforcement, the enemy prepared for a determined effort, from the dangers of which the British were relieved by the intelligence of peace between the two nations: on this, M. Bussy not only suspended all offensive operations, but sent orders to his countrymen to withdraw from Tippoo's service: he also proffered his mediation between the contending parties. General Stuart, by a unanimous vote of the committee, was dismissed the company's service; and having intimated his intention of resisting their authority, was put under arrest, and sent to England.

On the western coast of the Indian peninsula affairs now took a turn favorable to our arms, under general Mathews.

By instructions from the presidency of Bombay, that officer landed his troops at a point nearest to the important city of Bednore, and began to scale the steepest parts of the Ghauts, disregarding several detachments of the enemy hovering about his flank and rear. In this manœuvre he experienced a success which he had not dared to anticipate: every thing gave way before him, and Bednore surrendered without a blow; for treason, unknown to himself, ensured his conquest. Sheik Ayâz, who commanded there, and who for his abilities had been raised from an obscure condition to that high post by Hyder Ali, was an object of jealousy and hatred to Tippoo, who immediately after his father's death sent an order for his execution: the sheik, however, having intercepted the letter, hastened to the citadel, and effected its delivery to the English.

The sultan, greatly concerned at this loss, which brought the enemy so near to his capital, pushed forward successive corps against the British rear, and surrounded them with an overwhelming force: meanwhile Mathews, elated with his easy victory, reposed in false security; dispersed his troops among the different fortresses of the country; and allowed his communication with the coast to be intercepted. Tippoo's army was then brought up to the attack under Cossigny, a scientific French engineer; the garrison were driven into the citadel; and after a brave defence, their ammunition being expended and their provisions nearly consumed, capitulated under a promise of safe conduct to the coast. When the sultan obtained admission into Bednore, he proceeded to the treasury; but to his rage and dismay found it empty: orders were then given to search the British officers, on whom was found a large sum in money and jewels, which are considered in India as public property. On this discovery, Tippoo considered himself absolved from all stipulations; the prisoners were cast into irons, and committed to the most rigorous confinement. Marching down to the coast, he then laid siege to Mangalore, which was bravely defended by colonel Campbell: after a siege of fifty-six days, it was reduced almost to ruins; when news of the peace between France and England separated the French officers from the service of Tippoo, who was so irritated by the circumstance, that they with difficulty escaped the effects of his resentment. Unable to prosecute the siege alone, he agreed to an armistice, to extend over the whole coast of Malabar; one condition of which was, that a monthly supply of provisions should be allowed to enter Mangalore: but the spirit of

this stipulation was violated, the provisions sent in being of so bad a quality, that the health of the garrison was utterly ruined by them; while general M'Leod, with ill-timed scrupulosity, declined taking any effective means to introduce a supply of proper food. Colonel Campbell, after sustaining a siege of nearly nine months, under privations of the most dreadful description, was obliged to surrender the place on the twenty-sixth of January, 1783, and very soon died, a victim to the fatigue which he had undergone.

This unimportant triumph was dearly purchased by Tippoo, while important advantages had been gained by the British in Southern India, where the military talents of colonels Lang and Fullarton were ably directed by Mr. Sullivan, the civil resident. The strongest fortresses in the country had been reduced; and the latter officer was preparing to ascend the Ghauts and march on Seringapatam, when he was stopped in his victorious career by orders from the government, and directed to restore his recent conquests. Two English commissioners had been sent at Tippoo's request, to his camp, to treat for peace; and although these envoys, when they discovered his proceedings with regard to Mangalore, sent orders to colonel Fullarton to suspend the process of restoration, yet a treaty was at length concluded; each party retaining their former possessions, and Tippoo releasing such of his prisoners as survived the hardships of their captivity.

One of the first acts by which this tyrant signalised his reign, was the deportation and forcible conversion to Islamism of 30,000 christians from the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Canara. They were distributed among the principal garrisons; and 'as far as could be ascertained from conjecture,' says colonel Wilks, 'one-third of the number did not survive the first year.' When the army returned to the upper countries, its services were occupied in quelling a protracted rebellion of the people who dwelt among the hills and forests of Coorg: it was not long however before they were again in revolt; and Tippoo, entering Coorg with two columns, drew a military circle round the great mass of population, which he gradually contracted; sending his troops to beat up the woods, as if they were dislodging game. By these means he enclosed about 70,000 of the inhabitants, who were driven off like cattle to Seringapatam, where they also were honored with the distinction of Islamism. On this auspicious occasion, the name of Tippoo Sultan was substituted in public prayers at the mosques, for that of Shah Allum, the reigning sovereign: he also as-

sumed the regal title of Padisha, and ordered his court to observe all the forms and ceremonies of that at Delhi. The narrative of Indian affairs is thus brought down to the period when lord Cornwallis arrived at Calcutta, which formed a new epoch in the British government of that country.

In Europe an event occurred, which added a degree of historic interest to the annals of Jersey. Early in January, the baron de Rullecourt invaded the island, with about 700 men; and having found it totally unprepared, marched by night to St. Helier, where he surprised the guard, and took possession of the market-place; so that the inhabitants at daybreak discovered, with no small astonishment, that they were in the hands of the enemy. Major Corbett, the lieutenant-governor, was made prisoner in bed, but he contrived to send intelligence of these events to the different regiments quartered in the island. Being brought, together with the magistrates and principal inhabitants, to the court-house, the French general, knowing the impossibility of retaining his conquest with the small force which he commanded, produced articles of capitulation, and required the major instantly to sign them; at the same time he declared his intention of setting fire to the town as well as the shipping, and putting the inhabitants to the sword, in case of refusal. The governor at first showed some reluctance; but when the other, laying his watch on the table, allowed him only half an hour for deliberation, he yielded to these menaces, though the king's advocate and the constable, who were also prisoners, both refused to sign the document. Rullecourt then issued a proclamation containing the usual promises and threats on such an occasion, produced a commission from his own sovereign appointing him governor of the island, and ordered the shops to be reopened in the ordinary course of business.

The orders, however, despatched in the name of major Corbett to the different corps, failed to produce the effect desired by the French commander; for the officers, understanding that the lieutenant-governor was a prisoner, did not consider them binding: accordingly, they advanced in conjunction with the island militia, and under the conduct of major Pierson, of the ninety-fifth regiment, assembled on the heights above the town. Elizabeth castle, though summoned to surrender on the prescribed terms, was preserved by the good conduct of captains Aylward and Mulcaster, who had retired thither on the first alarm, and refused to admit any orders from the lieutenant-governor in his present circumstances. Rullecourt now des-

patched an officer, with a flag, to major Pierson, in the vain hope of effecting a capitulation: a truce for half an hour was agreed on; and at the same time the adjutant of the ninety-fifth was sent to demand the liberation of major Corbett. Being introduced into his presence, he asked him if he were a prisoner, and the major is said to have replied in the negative. All hope of negociation being now ended, Rullecourt prepared to defend his conquest by acts more worthy of a soldier; while Pierson, having made a masterly disposition of his forces, advanced towards the market-place, where the main body of the enemy was posted; but he received a fatal shot while cheering his men and leading them on to the charge. For a moment the French had the advantage; but the British troops soon rallied, and drove their adversaries before them. Rullecourt for a time continued the combat, retaining near him the lieutenant-governor, whom he held constantly by the arm; but having fallen with a mortal wound, his troops were repulsed on all sides, and at length surrendered at discretion. Thus terminated this second attempt on Jersey, which cost many brave men their lives, and major Corbett his honor; for he was shortly afterwards brought before a court-martial, and dismissed the service.

The blockade of Gibraltar still continued; and the garrison, but especially the inhabitants, began again to feel severe distress: the coarsest food was sold at an enormous price, and firing could scarcely be obtained for the most indispensable purposes; yet all submitted to these distressing privations with extraordinary cheerfulness. In such circumstances, the interest and honor of Great Britain required that one of the first efforts of the campaign should be the relief of this important place: accordingly, a fleet of twenty-eight line-of-battle ships was fitted out early in the year, under admiral Darby. The enemy boasted that they would defeat the execution of this design, from a desire of preventing it being attempted; but the British admiral set sail with a convoy of ninety-seven victuallers for Gibraltar, as well as two fleets of merchantmen; and this, while a French armament of twenty-six ships was lying in Brest harbor, and a still larger Spanish fleet was cruising in the bay of Cadiz. France, however, was more intent on her own designs against the British in America, as well as in the East and West Indies, than on seconding the views of Spain regarding Gibraltar: instead of seeking a junction with the Spanish admiral, she despatched her grand fleet, under count de Grasse, to the West Indies, and a strong

squadron, under Suffrein, to the East. When admiral Darby arrived off Cadiz, on the twelfth of April, he saw the Spaniards at anchor, evidently indisposed to offer him any opposition: he therefore sent forward his convoy under cover of a few ships of war; and cruised off the straits, in hopes of enticing them to an engagement: the victuallers got safely into harbor, notwithstanding some annoyance from the enemy's gun-boats; and Gibraltar was relieved. The Spaniards having, after an experiment of twenty months, discovered the inefficacy of a blockade, now resolved to try the effects of a bombardment. Raising several stupendous batteries, they mounted them with 170 guns of the weightiest metal, and with eighty mortars of the largest dimensions: these disgorged torrents of fire against Elliot's brave garrison, who returned it with a still heavier cannonade: it seemed, as if not only the works, but the rock itself must have been overwhelmed; all distinction of parts being lost in flame and smoke. This terrible cannonade continued day and night for three weeks, in every twenty-four hours of which it was calculated that fifty tons of gunpowder were consumed, and between 4000 and 5000 shot and shells passed through the town: it then slackened, but was not intermitted during one whole day for upwards of twelve months. Though the fatigues of the garrison were extreme, the loss of men was less than could have been expected: during the first ten weeks, the whole number of killed and wounded hardly exceeded 300, and very little damage was done to the fortifications, although the town presented a complete scene of ruin. Such of the inhabitants as were not buried under their houses, or torn to pieces by the shells, fled to the remotest parts of the rock; but destruction followed them in places which had hitherto been deemed secure. No scene could be more deplorable: mothers and children, clasped in each other's arms, were torn to pieces, and the shattered fragments of their limbs dispersed in the air; while ladies, of the highest classes and the most delicate frames, deemed themselves happy, when admitted to a few hours' repose in the casemates, amidst the noise of a crowded soldiery and the groans of wounded men. At the first onset, general Elliot returned against the besiegers a tremendous fire; but foreseeing the difficulty of procuring supplies, he soon became more sparing in the expenditure of his ammunition, and received, with comparative indifference, the furious volleys of his opponents. By the latter end of November, the besiegers had brought their works to that state of perfection which they intended; having

employed on them the most skilful engineers of France and Spain. Both nations were filled with sanguine hopes of success, and all Europe was in anxious suspense concerning the fate of the garrison; when a sally was projected and executed, that in about two hours destroyed those stupendous works, which had required so much time, and skill, and labor to erect. A body of 2000 picked men, under brigadier general Ross, marching out, during the darkness of the night, on the twenty-seventh of November, made a simultaneous attack on the whole front of the Spanish lines. With such silence did they advance, that the enemy had no suspicion of their approach, until a general assault gave notice of their presence: the Spaniards then fled on all sides; while the pioneers and artillerymen spread their fire with such rapidity, that in a little time every thing combustible was in flames; the mortars and cannon were spiked; their beds, platforms, and carriages were destroyed; and the magazines exploded one after another during the conflagration. Before daybreak, the detachment which accomplished all this destruction returned to the garrison, with scarcely any loss: but the besiegers, though disconcerted by so unexpected a blow, very soon recovered from their alarm; and with a brave determination almost peculiar to their nation, resolved to persevere in the siege.

Admiral Darby, having endeavored in vain to draw the Spaniards to an engagement by sea, returned to protect the channel; while M. de Guichen, understanding that the British fleet no longer intervened between Brest and Cadiz, sailed with eighteen ships of the line to join the Spanish admiral, and support him in a meditated attack on Minorca; the conquest of which, next to that of Gibraltar, was the principal object of Spanish ambition. With a combined force of 16,000 men, commanded by the duc de Crillon and a suitable train of artillery, they effected a landing, and commenced the siege of St. Philip's castle; but their success was not commensurate with their expectations; and the year was spent in unsuccessful efforts.

After convoying this armament to Minorca, the united fleets, amounting to seventy sail, of which fifty were of the line, sailed toward the British coasts, and for some time rode triumphant in the channel. Admiral Darby prudently retired with his squadron into Torbay, waiting an attack; but a difference of opinion between the French and Spanish commanders led to a council of war, which overruled the proposition of assailing the British

ships in harbor. After some unavailing attempts to intercept our homeward-bound traders, this mighty armament was compelled in September, by the wretched state of its ships and crews, to return to port without effecting any exploit worthy of notice.

The year however did not pass away without some naval actions honorable to the British name. In the beginning of August, the Dutch admiral Zoutman, with ten ships of the line, eight large frigates, and five sloops, encountered the British squadron, consisting of six line-of-battle ships and several frigates under admiral Parker, with a convoy from the north seas. An action immediately took place off the Dogger-bank; when both parties, eager for a close engagement, advanced in gloomy silence, without firing a gun, until they were within pistol-shot. More determined valor was perhaps never shown than in this engagement: for three hours and forty minutes did these hostile squadrons fight without intermission, ranged abreast of each other; and the slaughter on each side was terrible, the English losing about 500, and the enemy 1200 in killed and wounded: when they were both disabled, they lay to for some time, repairing damages; after which, the Dutch admiral bore away unopposed for the Texel, with his ships terribly shattered, one of them sinking, the night after the engagement, with all her wounded on board; while the rest with difficulty gained the harbor. Thus their voyage to the Baltic was abandoned, all means of procuring naval stores were cut off, and their valuable carrying-trade was for this year annihilated. Though the result of the action was so glorious to the British flag, the admiralty was severely and justly blamed for not furnishing admiral Parker with a sufficient force: there were as many ships lying idle in our ports as would have enabled him to capture the whole Dutch armament. Although this brave man, on his return to the Nore, received the honor of a royal visit, no acts of civility or condescension could induce him to retain his command; so great was his indignation at the insufficiency and bad condition of his fleet.

Commodore Johnstone was appointed to the command of a squadron destined to annoy the Dutch in another quarter, by attacking their valuable settlement at the Cape of Good Hope: the court of Versailles, however, at the solicitation of their ally, despatched a superior force to counteract this design, under M. de Suffrein; who finding the British in the neutral port of Praya, in the island of St. Jago, proceeded to attack them. He advanced as if to certain victory, but was soon

taught his mistake: though the British force was thrown into some confusion at the first onset, the native valor of our seamen soon displayed itself; and several outward-bound Indiamen, who were under convoy, joining in the engagement, the French were beaten off. The commodore, soon afterwards, meeting with five Dutch East Indiamen richly laden, took four, and burned the other: perceiving, however, that he could not compass the original object of his expedition, he returned to England with his prizes.

The Dutch, however, met with the severest punishment for their perfidious conduct at the hands of Rodney. Ministers despatched the earliest intelligence of hostilities between the two countries to that officer, who, in conjunction with general Vaughan, deceived the French commanders by feigning a design on Martinique, and then blockaded the island of St. Eustatius with his whole fleet. This place is a kind of natural fortification; and having a free port, which had long been the seat of an extensive commerce, had heaped up immense stores and wealth¹⁶ during the season of warfare among its neighbors; but it was wholly unprepared to make any effectual resistance to the force which now demanded its immediate surrender. M. de Graaf, the governor, therefore returned for answer, that, as he was utterly incapable of making any defence, he must of necessity capitulate, relying solely on the known clemency of British commanders. The enormous wealth accumulated on this barren spot was indiscriminately seized and confiscated; in addition to which booty, above 150 rich merchantmen, a Dutch frigate of thirty-eight guns, and five small vessels, fell into the hands of the conquerors, having been deceived by the Dutch colors which had been kept flying on the island: the adjacent isles of St. Martin and Saba were also reduced; and thirty large ships, laden with West India produce, and valued at £500,000, which had sailed for Holland, were overtaken and captured. The Dutch West India company, the Amsterdam merchants, and many Americans were great losers by the confiscation of property in this island; nor did the British merchants suffer in a much less degree: for, confiding in its neutrality, they

¹⁶ 'All the magazines,' says the admiral, 'are filled; and even the beach covered with tobacco and sugar.'—'The capture is immense, and amounts to more than I can venture to say. All is secured for the king, to be at his royal disposal.'—'I speak within bounds, when I say it is more than £2,000,000 sterling.' Life of Rodney, vol. ii.

had accumulated there large quantities of West India produce and European goods. They stated the hardship of their case to admiral Rodney and general Vaughan; but received for answer, that 'the island, and every thing contained in it, was Dutch; and as Dutch it should be treated.' This apparent severity of the conquerors drew down on them many pointed censures; and suits at law were subsequently instituted in the British courts, by which large sums were recovered from the admiral. If, however, he erred against strict legal right, he may be excused on the plea, that he considered himself justified in confiscating the property of British subjects, who, for their own private gain, had sacrificed the interests of their country. This island had long been the chief magazine, whence the Americans had procured supplies; and in that commerce British merchants had most largely participated.¹⁷

The captured treasure having been despatched to England with a convoy under admiral Hotham, twenty-five of the ships were taken by a French squadron under de la Motte Piquet; and thus the wealth of St. Eustatius still continued to enrich the enemy: the island itself was also surrendered to the French toward the end of the year, in a very discreditable way, by colonel Cockburn.

While Rodney was at this place, and his fleet weakened by the large detachment sent with the booty to England, the French were quietly executing a well-planned scheme, which secured to them a naval superiority on the American coast, to the ruin of the British interests in the United States.

Twenty-five ships of the line and one of fifty guns, under De Grasse and Suffrein, sailed from Brest on the twenty-second of March, with 6000 land forces on board, and a con-

¹⁷ 'The island having been taken at the first summons,' says Rodney's biographer, 'the merchants had no time to destroy or secrete their books; on inspection of which it came out, that certain London and Bermudian merchants had been in the habit of furnishing the American privateers with warlike stores; and, as a cloak to their clandestine commerce, they fixed on a cipher, part of which consisted in calling cannon-balls fruit, and gun-powder grain.'—'My happiness,' says the admiral in a despatch, 'is having been the instrument of my country in bringing this nest of villains to condign punishment. They deserve scourging, and they shall be scourged.'—'The guilty American merchants,' says he again, 'and the equally guilty Bermudian and British, though compelled to retire, will be permitted to take with them their personal effects.' Life of Rodney, vol. ii. pp. 12, 13. 45. &c.

voy of nearly 300 merchant vessels : twenty-one of these ships, after Suffrein had separated from them and sailed to the East Indian seas, proceeded to Martinique ; and as their junction with the French force already there would give them a great superiority over the British, Rodney despatched Sir Samuel Hood with seventeen ships of the line to intercept them off Fort Royal bay : a partial engagement in consequence took place ; but although the French had by reinforcements a majority of six, they kept at a great distance ; and some of the English ships, pressing into closer action, received considerable damage. The French commanders, having failed in an attack on St. Lucie, now engaged in the reduction of Tobago ; when Rodney, having completed his repairs, came with his whole fleet in sight of their squadron : but though they no longer showed their usual disposition to avoid an engagement, and he had the advantage of the wind, he did not think it prudent to run the risk. The island was nobly defended, and only reduced by the savage mode of warfare adopted by de Bouillé, who set fire to four plantations daily till the governor capitulated. This conquest terminated all naval operations for the year in the West Indies : the French, being still farther augmented by five sail of the line at Hispaniola, proceeded to the Chesapeake ; while Rodney returned to England on account of his health, leaving Sir Samuel Hood in command of the fleet.

Some important transactions had taken place since the last campaign in America. The spirit of disaffection in the southern provinces, which had been checked by the victory at Camden, revived through the defeat of major Ferguson : but lord Cornwallis, having obtained from Virginia, at the close of the year 1780, a reinforcement of 2600 men under general Leslie, still pursued his intention of penetrating into North Carolina : at the same time, Sir Henry Clinton, with a desire of making a diversion in his favor, and establishing a place of retreat, if necessary, despatched general Arnold, at the head of 1800 men, to occupy Portsmouth on Elizabeth river : he also instructed him to make incursions into Virginia, to strike at the enemy's magazines, and to conciliate the inhabitants by proclamations. With a laudable prudence, however, he associated with him two experienced officers, lieutenant colonels Dundas and Simcoe ; while lord Cornwallis had power to supersede him, if circumstances should render it necessary : but Arnold, whose bravery and skill were indisputable, proceeded with a corps of 1000 men up James river ; and having

destroyed a valuable cannon foundery, military barracks, a large quantity of stores, and many vessels richly laden, succeeded in establishing the required post at Portsmouth.

The havoc made by Arnold, and the apprehension of a design to fix a permanent post in Virginia, induced Washington to send thither the marquis de la Fayette, with 1200 troops, as well as to urge the French in Rhode island to co-operate with him in his endeavors to capture the American renegado. With this view, their fleet, with 1500 additional men on board, set sail under the command of M. d'Estouches, who had previously sent a naval force to the Chesapeak, which took or destroyed ten British vessels, and captured the *Romulus*, a forty-four gun ship. On the tenth of March, admiral Arbuthnot sailed from Gardiner's-bay in pursuit of the enemy, and on the sixteenth of the same month engaged them off the capes of Virginia. The British had a small superiority in guns, and the French in men: the contest ended without the loss of a ship on either side, but the former effected their object by frustrating the scheme of their opponents, who returned to Rhode island; and Arnold was preserved from the imminent danger of falling into the hands of his exasperated countrymen. On the twenty-fifth of March, a convoy arrived in the Chesapeak from New York with major-general Philips and about 2000 men: this distinguished officer, having formed a junction with Arnold, defeated the American militia, and carried every thing before him; but his country was very soon deprived of his eminent services by death.

The plan of Arnold's expedition, as well as its success, was principally owing to the discontent prevailing in the American army, of which the British commander had received intelligence. The misery of the troops, for want of pay, clothing, and even food, was extreme: congress was unable to afford the requisite supplies; and the troops proceeded from murmurs to open complaint, and finally to revolt. The term of enlistment in several corps expired with the year; and the whole Pennsylvania line paraded under arms without their officers, seized six field-pieces, supplied themselves with ammunition, and declared their resolution to proceed and demand justice of congress. General Wayne attempted, without success, to arrest the progress of these revolvers; but they assured him that they were as attached as ever to the cause which they had embraced; and if the English should dare to come out of New York, they were ready, under him, to face them in the field: to prove the truth of these assertions, they gave up to

him several British messengers, who had been sent by Sir Henry Clinton for the purpose of enticing them by liberal offers to desert their colors. The mind of Washington, however, was equal to this emergency: with half his army, as usual, disbanded on the first of January, with the main body of the British in New York, and the Hudson open to their ships, he contrived to suppress the mutiny; to check any extensive operations of his opponents; to carry on an extensive correspondence with his detached officers, with numerous influential persons, and with the state governments; whereby he obtained funds to pay his soldiers in part, while he found time to impress on the court of Versailles his own views of the capabilities of the country, the importance of an immediate supply of money, and the maintenance of a naval superiority on the American coasts.

The plan of this campaign, the last in which any grand efforts were made for the recovery of the colonies, was thus arranged. Lord Cornwallis was instructed to penetrate through the intervening provinces, to join Arnold, and to attack the marquis de la Fayette, who was now employed as an active partisan in Virginia; while Sir Henry Clinton himself engaged to keep Washington and the count Rochambeau in check. Early in the year, therefore, his lordship took the field; and having left a considerable force under lord Rawdon for the defence of South Carolina, advanced towards the frontiers, and took a position at Winnsborough; general Leslie proceeding towards Camden. The American commander Greene, with the main body of his forces, marched to the Cheraw hills on the Peedee; having detached general Morgan to the west of the Catawba, to act on the left of Cornwallis, collect provisions and forage, and annoy his adversaries by all the means in his power. This movement alarmed the British commander for some of his posts, and he despatched colonel Tarleton with a force of about 1100 men to counteract it. That officer came up with the enemy on the seventeenth of January at a place called the Cowpens, and immediately engaged them. The militia, which was in the first line, fell back from the impetuosity of the British, who immediately advanced against the second line, which, after an obstinate conflict, retreated to the cavalry. In this crisis, lieutenant-colonel Washington made a successful charge against a troop of British dragoons who were cutting down the militia; and at the same time colonel Howard gallantly rallied the continental troops, and led them to the charge, in which they

were joined by the militia. A panic struck the English; their advance fell back on the rear, a large party of horse took to flight, and the artillery was seized by the Americans: in this state of disorder, colonel Howard called out to them to lay down their arms, with the promise of quarter; and it is said that this brave man had in his hand the swords of seven officers who surrendered them to him personally.¹⁸ Tarleton, at the head of fourteen officers, and about forty of the seventeenth regiment of dragoons, cut their way through the opposing cavalry: few others escaped; and the loss of the light troops was irreparable. As this was the first battle in which the Americans had defeated their opponents with the bayonet, its moral effects were felt throughout the country: congress voted medals to Morgan, Washington, and Howard, descriptive of this memorable day.

With the expectation of retaking the British prisoners, and obliterating the impression made by the late action, lord Cornwallis determined instantly to pursue Morgan, who had moved off towards Virginia: his efforts, however, were eluded by that able partisan, who was assisted in his escape by a sudden rise of the river Catawba soon after he had passed it, when the English were almost within sight: this enabled him to send forward his prisoners, and collect the militia of the country to dispute the fords. In the mean time, Greene himself repaired to the banks of the Catawba, riding with great speed 160 miles across the country, and directing his army to join Morgan's detachment by forced marches: as soon, however, as the flood subsided, the British made good their passage over the river, which is 500 yards wide and three feet deep, under a constant fire of the militia, but without returning it till they had gained the opposite bank: they then easily dispersed their opponents, and pursued the flying detachment, under privations of the severest kind, to the bank of the Yadkin, which the Americans had previously passed in flats and by fords; but a sudden rise of its waters stopped their enemies, and was looked on as a second interposition of Providence little less than miraculous.

The two divisions of the American army now effected a junction at Guildford court-house; but their numbers were still so inferior to the British, that Greene determined to retire beyond the Dan into Virginia, and wait for reinforcements. By indefatigable exertions he accomplished this object, and

¹⁸ Life of Howard, in American Portrait Gallery.

eluded lord Cornwallis, who kept the upper country where the rivers are fordable : so rapid, however, was the pursuit, and so narrow the escape of the retreating army ; that its rear had scarcely crossed the Dan, before the van of their adversaries came up, to see all their hopes disappointed, when they fancied the object of them within their grasp. This retreat of general Greene has been always considered as a masterly movement, and raised his reputation very high among his countrymen.

Lord Cornwallis now fell back on Hillsborough, whence he issued a proclamation, inviting all loyal subjects to repair thither in arms, for the support of constitutional government : considerable success attended this measure, and colonel Tarleton was sent with a detachment of horse and foot to afford protection to the royalists ; while general Greene recrossed the Dan, to prevent as much as possible the effects of the proclamation. In the mean time, colonel Pyle had collected a body of nearly 300 loyalists, and was proceeding with them to the British army, when they accidentally fell in with a corps under lieutenant-colonel Lee, who had been sent by Greene to prevent their junction. Those unfortunate men, mistaking Lee's troops for their British allies, were suddenly surrounded by them, and cut to pieces, while they were crying out ' God save the king,' and making other protestations of loyalty. Tarleton's detachment happened to be within a mile of this scene of slaughter ; and on hearing the alarm, he recrossed the Haw : meeting in his retreat with another body of loyalists, he mistook them for the militia of the country, and put them to the sword.

These occurrences, added to the reappearance of the American army in North Carolina, wholly disconcerted lord Cornwallis's schemes ; while a sudden revulsion was given to the sentiments of the people ; so that, being surrounded with timid friends and inveterate foes, his supplies impeded, and the country wasted, he retreated to a new position on Allamance-creek, between the Haw and Deep rivers. The activity and vigilance of Greene's light troops kept him informed of every movement made by the British forces, and enabled him to rest and refresh his troops against the day of action, which he determined to bring on whenever his reinforcements should arrive ; being confident, that if he could not destroy his enemy, he could at least severely cripple him. According to this determination, the battle of Guildford court-house was fought on the fifteenth of March ; the American army consisting of nearly 5000 men, of which more than half were militia ; the

British of about 2400, all veteran troops, long used to warfare and to victory. This engagement, which was maintained with obstinate valor on both sides, terminated most honorably to the British arms; but their commander had to lament the loss of nearly one-third of his force: besides, his troops were exhausted with fatigue, unprovided with tents, and so destitute of provisions, that their allowance on the following day was only a quarter of a pound of flour to each man, and the same quantity of lean beef. The night was dark and tempestuous; the rain fell in torrents on the unprotected, half-famished troops; while the cries of wounded and dying men augmented the horrors of the scene. Victory at such a price to lord Cornwallis was defeat: he was therefore obliged to retreat, and leave his wounded to the care and humanity of the enemy. After a few days, Greene found himself in a condition to pursue: leaving the sick and wounded of both armies in the hands of a congregation of Friends,¹⁹ he followed with great vigor; until, finding it impossible to overtake his foe, he halted at Ramsay's mill, and Cornwallis pushed forward to Wilmington.

Greene then took the resolution of marching directly into South Carolina, to restore the spirits of the people, destroy the line of posts between Camden and Charleston, and, if possible, induce lord Cornwallis to return for their protection: but that commander, after a fruitless effort to divert Greene's attention, took a contrary route to Petersburg in Virginia: the main body of the Americans then moved towards Camden; and on the twentieth of April took post on the brow of a height called Hobkirk's-hill, about a mile and a half from the British redoubts. On the morning of the twenty-fifth, as the provincials were preparing their breakfast, lord Rawdon attempted a surprise, by passing through a swamp to the left of the encampment: the piquets, however, received him promptly, and retired, bravely disputing the ground, until they joined the main body; when a sanguinary conflict ensued. The Americans were supported by artillery; and being superior in numbers, extended their front with an apparent intention of surrounding the enemy: in this emergency, lord Rawdon conceived one of those quick and happy designs which the exigences of war call forth in those who are fitted for command: he instantly ordered his columns to form one line; and, thin as it was, charged the enemy with such impetuosity, as to put

¹⁹ His parents, as well as himself, were of this persuasion.

them completely to the rout. But military excellence was of little avail when unaided by political sagacity: the reinforcements intended by ministers to join lord Rawdon were not sent in due time; so that he was obliged to retire from the scene of his victory and act on the defensive. At length, a portion of the expected troops being arrived at Charleston, he marched thither to effect a junction. In his absence, Greene captured Orangeburg, Fort Motte, Granby, and several other places; after which he invested the strong post of Ninety-six; but before it could be reduced, lord Rawdon was enabled to bring up his forces and to raise the siege. Greene then retired into North Carolina with his enemy in full pursuit: but his firmness and decision sustained him under this trial of fortune; for being advised to abandon South Carolina to its fate, his reply was, 'I will recover the country, or perish in the attempt.' The British general soon perceived that pursuit was vain; and that while he was moving away from all support, his antagonist was falling back on his magazines and reinforcements, drawing him towards the very track over which he had formerly led Cornwallis. Being already short of provisions, he returned to Ninety-six, and from thence to Charleston, taking with him all the families of loyalists in that district. The division of his forces made for the escort of these unfortunate persons encouraged Greene again to hang on his rear and flanks, until the heat compelled him to retire, after having succeeded in recovering greatest part of Georgia and the two Carolinas. Being joined by the detachments under Lee, Sumpter, and Marion, he encamped on the hills of Santee, while lord Rawdon retired to Orangeburg, and soon afterwards found it necessary, for the sake of his health, to revisit his native land.

During the late disasters, the turn of sentiment among the American loyalists, and the treachery of some who had joined the British standard, were more than usually apparent: an example to deter others from similar desertion was among the last acts of lord Rawdon. Colonel Isaac Haynes, who had taken the oath of British allegiance, having been captured fighting on the side of the Americans, was condemned and executed as a traitor at Charleston: his death produced a menacing proclamation from general Greene, and was much canvassed in England; the conduct of lord Rawdon being reprobated by one party, while it was justified by the other. After his lordship's departure, the command of the army devolved on colonel Stewart, who was attacked by the enemy on

the eighth of September, at Eutaw springs, having previously suffered a loss of more than 300 men, who were surprised in foraging. The most obstinate and bloody battle that had yet taken place ensued; and the artillery on both sides was several times taken and retaken: the American militia behaved with the firmness of veterans, advancing with shouts into the hottest fire of their opponents: one part of the line faltering for an instant, the British troops, elated at the prospect, sprang forward to improve their advantage; but in so doing deranged their own ranks. General Greene, observing the incident, ordered the second, or Maryland line, to advance with fixed bayonets, and sweep the field. In this encounter, it fell to the lot of the gallant colonel Howard, who commanded the second American regiment, to meet the Buffs, whose resistance was so stubborn, that numbers of the Marylanders and British were mutually transfixed with each other's bayonets. Colonel Howard, in a letter, says, 'nearly one half my men were killed or wounded, and I had seven officers out of twelve disabled.' Towards the end of the battle, he himself received a ball in the left shoulder:²⁰ vast numbers fell on both sides; and each claimed the victory; but the result was favorable to the Americans; for the British retired, and thenceforward confined their operations to the vicinity of Charleston. For his last battle, Greene was presented by congress with a gold medal, and one of the British standards. His services in this memorable campaign were handsomely recompensed at the end of the war by his grateful country: but the most honorable testimony to his merit was the high praise bestowed on him by Washington, and the unfeigned respect with which that great man always regarded his memory.

The proceedings of lord Cornwallis remain now to be noticed. When his lordship left the Carolinas, he hoped that lord Rawdon would be able to maintain his ground, even if general Greene did not follow him into Virginia, as he expected: in the most unfavorable event, he flattered himself, that by the conquest of this latter province, the recovery of the Carolinas would be at any time practicable. Accordingly, before the end of April, he commenced his progress, and in less than a month the march from Wilmington to Petersburg was completed, though not without opposition from detachments of the provincials. Here the royal forces under general Philips augmented his army; and the junction had scarcely

²⁰ Life of John Eager Howard, in American Portrait Gallery.

been effected, before his mind was set at ease by intelligence from lord Rawdon of an advantage gained by him over Greene, as well as of the departure of three regiments from Cork, destined for Charleston: soon afterwards, a reinforcement of 1500 men arrived from New York, and Virginia became the chief scene of operations during the remainder of the campaign. The very responsible charge of counteracting this formidable force was committed to the marquis de la Fayette, who acquitted himself of it with great credit; and the attempts of lord Cornwallis, 'to catch the boy,' as he used to call his youthful antagonist, turned eventually to his own confusion. One of the means used by la Fayette to prevent capture by an overwhelming superiority of force, was the formation of a legionary corps of horse and foot; the latter composed of three companies, picked men from his three regiments of infantry, which always lay between the two armies, and exercised the strictest vigilance: they were commanded by major M'Pherson and captain Ogden.¹ At first, he was obliged to retire from the approaching storm, having only 1000 regulars, 2000 militia, and about sixty dragoons, under his command.

Lord Cornwallis, having advanced beyond the South Anna river, was enabled, not only to destroy large quantities of property, but by his great superiority in cavalry to traverse the country in all directions: two expeditions, therefore, were undertaken; the first, under colonel Tarleton to Charlotteville, dispersed the assembly there, captured seven of its members, and destroyed an abundance of stores; the other, to Point of Fork, under colonel Simcoe, was but partially successful, as the Americans had removed many of their stores from that place. The British made various conquests, but were seldom able to retain them longer than their time of encampment: the marquis, with tact and prudence that would have done honor to a veteran officer, acted so cautiously on the defensive, making so judicious a choice of posts and movements, as to prevent any advantage from being taken of his weakness: at Racoon ford he effected a junction with general Wayne, who brought with him a body of 800 Pennsylvanians; and then very dexterously throwing his whole force between the British army and the American stores at Albemarle old court-house, he obliged his lordship to fall back on Richmond without his booty. About the same time his army was augmented by Steuben's corps, and a large body of provincial militia: he

¹ Life of Ogden, in American National Gallery.

then followed his antagonist, and had the address to impress him with a notion that the American army was much larger than it really was: lord Cornwallis therefore thought proper to retire to Williamsburg, where his rear was attacked by a light corps under colonel Butler, and suffered considerable loss.

It was a principal object with the British, in this campaign, to fix on a strong post in the Chesapeak as a place of security both for the army and navy: Portsmouth and Hampton-roads were at first selected, but afterwards abandoned for York-town and Gloucester-point: these lord Cornwallis proceeded to fortify so, as to render them tenable, by his present army of 7000 men, against any force likely to be brought against him. Having however taken a general view of affairs, he came to an opinion that greater numbers would be necessary for effecting the object of the campaign; and he conceived no hopes of ultimate success without very active co-operation on the part of the commander in chief.

Sir Henry Clinton, however, instead of reinforcing lord Cornwallis, turned his attention solely to New York, against which he apprehended an attack by the combined French and American armies: for the defence of this important post, he required lord Cornwallis to despatch the troops which he had formerly sent him, from Virginia, unless he was engaged in operations that required their assistance, or would employ them in making an effectual diversion of Washington's army, by undertaking an expedition, with the loyalists, to the upper part of the Chesapeak; and as this plan did not suit his lordship, he sent back the troops. The war however was now so far involved in naval operations, that a maritime superiority would be most likely to secure success to either party: the British army being divided and parcelled out in various sea ports of the United States, any portion of it, blocked up by a French fleet, and surrounded by the American troops, might easily be compelled to surrender: for this purpose, and in subserviency to the designs of Washington, the count de Grasse sailed in March from Brest, with twenty-five sail of the line, several thousand troops, and a large convoy. A small part only of this force was detached to the East Indies: the rest steered for Martinique; and having eluded the British admirals Hood and Drake, formed a junction there with eight ships of the line and one of fifty guns; and on the thirteenth of August cast anchor in the Chesapeak: for that station also, a French squadron, under the count de Barras, consisting of eight ships

of the line, sailed from Rhode island five days before the arrival of de Grasse, taking a circuit by Bermuda to avoid the British fleet.

Admiral Graves, with twenty sail of the line, made an effort to relieve lord Cornwallis, but without effect. When he appeared off the capes of Virginia, de Grasse went out, chiefly for protection to the squadron from Rhode island; and an indecisive action took place on the seventh of September. The British were willing to renew it; but the French admiral, for good reasons, declined an engagement: his purpose was effected when Barras got safe within the capes. The French fleet then possessed a decided superiority: admiral Graves departed from the coast; and de Grasse re-entered the Chesapeake. During this time, according to a well-digested plan, the French and American forces were on their march towards York-town.

Washington, having provided for the defence of his posts on the Hudson, led his army down the western side of that river, so as to mark his intentions by exciting apprehensions for Staten island; and it was not till he had passed the Delaware, that his real object was suspected by the British commander. The combined forces, amounting to 12,000 men, assembled at Williamsburg on the twenty-fifth of September, and five days afterwards moved down to the investiture of York-town: at the same time the French fleet moved to the mouth of York river, so as to prevent lord Cornwallis from retreating, or receiving any succor by sea. About this time however he received a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, announcing the arrival of admiral Digby with three ships of the line from Europe, and his own determination to embark with 5000 men for his relief. Immediately after he received this intelligence, his lordship quitted his exterior position, and retired to one more inward.

On the night of the sixth of October the first parallel was commenced within 600 yards of the British lines; and on the ninth and tenth, the attacks of the besiegers commenced with formidable energy: their shells reached the ships in harbor; and the Charon frigate of forty-four guns, with a transport, was burned: on the eleventh, the second parallel was begun at the distance of 200 yards from the works. As two redoubts, advanced on the left of the British line, greatly impeded the progress of their antagonists, it was proposed to carry them by storm; and to excite a spirit of emulation, the reduction of one was committed to the Americans, and the

other to the French : each was attacked and carried with unloaded arms, but not without a considerable loss of men, especially on the side of the French : these redoubts were then included in the second parallel, and greatly facilitated the operations of the besiegers. On the sixteenth, a sally was made by a party of British troops under colonel Abercrombie, who spiked eleven cannon, but were unable to gain any essential advantage. By this time the besieging batteries were mounted with 100 pieces of ordnance, and the British works were in a state of ruin. No hopes of safety now remained, for no succors arrived ; and after an attempt to escape in boats to Gloucester-point, which was frustrated by a violent storm, lord Cornwallis proposed a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours to settle terms for capitulation. Washington, in his answer, professed ‘an ardent desire to save the effusion of blood, and to accept such terms as were admissible ;’ and thus began a negociation, which ended in a treaty, by which, on the nineteenth of October, the posts were given up ; the troops and stores being surrendered to Washington, the ships and seamen to the count de Grasse. The honor of marching out with colors flying, which had been refused to general Lincoln at Charleston, was now, by way of retaliation, denied to lord Cornwallis : Lincoln also was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army, in the same manner as his own had been conducted eighteen months before ; but the Americans behaved on the whole with great forbearance and delicacy towards the vanquished. This was the last military achievement in which Washington was personally engaged : but no other was requisite ; for the fall of York-town was but a prelude to the emancipation of North America.

A British fleet with 7000 troops, destined for the relief of lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Chesapeake on the twenty-fourth of October ; but on receiving intelligence of his surrender, they returned to New York. Considerable censure was incurred by the British commanders on this occasion, but without sufficient reason. The campaign of lord Cornwallis had not been deficient in energy, nor had he committed any material error in taking up his positions ; but the force under his command was wholly inadequate to his exigencies : by this time we had taught the American militia to fight, and the resources of their vast country could not be taken from them : while Washington, fixed in his impregnable posts on the Hudson, kept Sir Henry Clinton in check, and alarmed him for the fate of New York, the latter could not send any succors.

to Cornwallis, or undertake any distant enterprise; though the American commander himself had always in his power to gain the start of his antagonist, whenever he chose to advance on Virginia. The real blame lay with our ministers at home, whose Aulic council was little calculated to direct the movements of armies on the other side of the Atlantic; and who furnished our commanders with neither naval nor military resources sufficient to subdue the colonies, assisted as they were directly by three European powers, and favored indirectly by all the rest. It was indeed pleasantly said by lord North of the British generals in America, that 'he did not know whether they would frighten the enemy; but he was sure that they frightened him whenever he thought of them.' The sarcasm, however, would have been quite as apposite, if it had been applied by the military officers to the members of the British cabinet.

CHAP. XXIV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1781.

Sentiments of foreign powers towards England—Prevailing disaffection at home towards ministers—Arrival of the news concerning lord Cornwallis's surrender, &c.—King's speech—Debates on address, &c.—Attack on Sir George Rodney and general Vaughan regarding the capture of St. Eustatius, &c.—Debates on the army estimates—Motions of Sir James Lowther for peace—Declining influence of administration—Renewed debates—Mr. Pitt's speech, &c.—Discharge of Mr. Laurens—Parliament adjourns—Addresses to his majesty for a dismissal of ministers—Admiral Kempenfeldt's action—Domestic events—Appearance of the heir apparent at court, &c.—State of Spain and France—Events in the West Indies—Capture of St. Christopher's, &c.—Plan of attack on ministers—Fox's motions for inquiry into the navy, &c.—Event discouraging to the ministers—Debates on lord George Germaine's elevation to the peerage—Attacks on administration—Lord North resigns—Rockingham administration—Mr. Pitt's situation—That of Fox and Burke—Sentiments of the cabinet—Resolutions agreed on—Affairs of Ireland, and establishment of its legislative independence—Bill passed regarding contractors and revenue officers—Resolutions regarding Wilkes expunged from the journals—Borough of Cricklade disfranchised—Debates on parliamentary reform—Subject introduced by Mr. Pitt, &c.—East India affairs—Passing of Mr. Burke's bill for economical reform—Proposals for peace with Holland—Low estimation of England at this time by the continental powers—Great Britain recovers her consequence by Rodney's glorious victory—Honors bestowed on the admiral, &c.—Tardy negotiations for peace.

DURING the events described in the preceding chapter, no efforts were made by any European power to assist Great Britain; for where open hostility did not exist, a jealous combination, adverse to her interests, prevailed. The spirit which animated the armed confederacy was studiously encouraged by the king of Prussia, who still retained all his resentment against George III. and his ministers: he even ordered his subjects to withdraw their money from the English funds, under the pretence that a national bankruptcy was inevitable; and thus contributed, as far as in him lay, to bring on so great a calamity: he next endeavored to persuade the czarina that

Great Britain had commenced hostilities against the Dutch, on account of their accession to the armed neutrality, and that she was called on to assist them by treaty: but though he was unable to convince her on this point, he diminished her attachment to the English, and proportionally increased her desire to extend that obnoxious confederacy to which he himself now became a party: nor did a long period elapse, before the emperor Joseph, who had suddenly imbibed a great partiality to France, gave in his adhesion to it, after the renewal of an attempt at mediation, under the auspices of Austria and Russia, had failed. Great Britain, however, was not yet so reduced, as to permit the interference of any foreign power between her and her revolted subjects; and her declaration to this effect served as a pretext to the house of Bourbon for renewing its profession of good faith towards the Americans.

Nor were the perplexities arising from the aspect of foreign relations lessened by the smooth current of domestic affairs. During the recess of parliament disaffection to the cause of ministers began to prevail; and this was augmented, not only by complaints of speculative grievances unredressed, by the misrepresentations of political demagogues, corresponding committees, and mock representatives; but by the profuse expenditure of government, and the enormous increase of taxes; by repeated instances of alleged misconduct regarding the navy, and by the apparent folly of resisting, with inadequate means, a combination of so many powers. Besides, the authority of the mother country over her colonies had been so often qualified and explained, and even partially renounced, that people came to think it might be given up without involving in it the ruin of the constitution. At all events, the public no longer remained unconcerned as to the future effects of the war, nor did the nation slumber in a state of torpid security, when the second session of parliament opened on the twenty-seventh of November.

Two days before this event, official intelligence of Cornwallis's surrender arrived about noon at the house of lord George Germaine; and the manner in which it was received by the personages most interested in its consequences, has been accurately detailed by a lively annalist of those times.²

Lord Walsingham, who had been under secretary of state, and was to second the address in the house of lords, happened to be there when the messenger came. Without communi-

² Sir Nathanael Wraxall.

cating it to any other person, lord George, for the sake of despatch, immediately proceeded with him, in a hackney-coach, to lord Stormont's residence in Portland-place, whom they took into the carriage, and then drove to the chancellor's house in Great Russell-street: after a short consultation, they determined to lay it themselves in person before lord North, who had received no intimation of the event when they arrived in Downing-street, between one and two o'clock. The minister's firmness, and even his presence of mind, gave way for a short time under this disaster. 'I asked lord George afterwards,' says Sir Nathanael, 'how he took the communication?' 'As he would have taken a ball in his breast,' was the reply: 'he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced the apartment during a few minutes, O God! it is all over; words which he repeated many times, under emotions of the deepest agitation and distress.' The next picture drawn is that of a cabinet council in terror. When the first agitation had subsided, the four ministers discussed the question, whether it might not be expedient to prorogue the meeting of parliament for a few days; but, as scarcely an interval of forty-eight hours remained before the appointed time of meeting, and as many members of both houses had arrived in London, or were on their way, the proposition was abandoned. It became, however, indispensable to alter, and almost to remodel, the king's speech: this was done without delay; and at the same time, lord George, as secretary for America, sent off a despatch to the king, at Kew, acquainting him with the fate of lord Cornwallis. The narrator then proceeds:—'I dined on that day with lord George; and although the information which had reached London in the course of the morning from France, as well as from the official report, was of a nature not to admit of long concealment, yet it had not been communicated to me or any other individual of the company when I got to Pall Mall between five and six. Lord Walsingham, who also dined there, was the only person, except our host, acquainted with the fact. The party, nine in number, sat down to table; when I thought the master of the house appeared serious, though he manifested no discomposure.

'Before dinner was over, one of the servants delivered to him a letter, brought back by the messenger who had been despatched to the king. Lord George opened and perused it; then, looking at lord Walsingham, 'the king writes,' said he, 'just as he always does, except that I observe he has neglected to mark the hour and the minute of his writing, with his usual

precision.' This remark, though calculated to awaken some interest, excited no comment; and while the ladies remained in the room, we repressed our curiosity: but they had no sooner withdrawn, than lord George acquainted us that information had just arrived from Paris of old count Maurepas lying at the point of death. 'It would grieve me,' said I, 'to finish my career, however far advanced in years, were I first minister of France, before I had witnessed the termination of this great contest between England and America.'—'He has survived to see that event,' replied lord George with some agitation. The conversation was prolonged, until, mention being made of the Virginian campaign, the minister disclosed the full bearing of the intelligence. 'The army,' said he, 'has surrendered; and you may peruse the particulars of the capitulation in that paper.' The paper was taken from his pocket, and read to the company. The next question was one of rather an obtrusive kind, to ask what the king thought on the subject. The minister's remark imported, that it did the highest honor to his majesty's firmness, fortitude, and consistency: but this was a complying moment, and the billet was read to the following effect:—'I have received with sentiments of the deepest concern, the communication which lord George Germaine has made to me, of the unfortunate result of the operations in Virginia: I particularly lament it on account of the consequences connected with it, and the difficulties which it may produce in carrying on the public business, or in repairing such a misfortune: but I trust that neither lord George Germaine, nor any other member of the cabinet, will suppose that it makes the smallest alteration in those principles of conduct, which have directed me in past time, and which will always continue to animate me, under every event, in the prosecution of the present contest.' Whatever opinion may be entertained about the reduction of our American colonies, it must be confessed that no sovereign could manifest more dignity or self-command, than George III. displayed in this reply.

In conformity with this communication to lord George Germaine was the tone of the king's speech from the throne. His majesty, after expressing his concern at the sad reverses in Virginia, declared 'that he could not consent to sacrifice, either to his own desire of peace, or to the temporary ease and relief of his subjects, those essential rights and permanent interests on which the strength and security of this country must ever principally depend: he retained a firm confidence in

the protection of Divine Providence, and a perfect conviction of the justice of his cause ;' and he concluded by calling 'for the concurrence and support of parliament, together with a vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the faculties and resources of his people.'

An amendment to the address was moved by the earl of Shelburne: he was not surprised at the sentiments of the sovereign, which marked a dignity and firmness of character supporting him under the pressure of calamities ; nor was he surprised that ministers should take advantage of such noble sentiments, to frame a speech flattering to his majesty's personal feelings : but the state of the country required them to resist all such impulses, and honestly to impart such advice as might tend to retrieve his affairs. He decried the whole conduct of the war, imputing its disasters to a want of system, combination, and intelligence. By our method of following the French, we had yielded to them every advantage ; for wherever they despatched a large force, we tardily pursued with a small one. After expressing his fears lest we should find another Chesapeake at Plymouth or in the Thames, and declaiming against the war with Holland as a perfidious measure, he concluded with an observation of lord Chatham, implying, that if the present system were pursued, 'his majesty's crown would soon be not worth his wearing.'

The duke of Richmond carried his censures against ministers still farther, and ascribed all the faults of government to an interior cabinet ; quoting also a declaration of lord Chatham, that 'when he entered the king's closet, he found the ground rotten, and himself duped and deceived :' the marquis of Rockingham concurred in reprobating the system of favoritism or unconstitutional influence ; and drew a very unfavorable picture of the present period, as compared with the state of the nation at the king's accession : lord Camden attributed our disasters principally to the deranged state of the navy, to irresolution and want of vigor in the cabinet, but above all to the fatal error of continuing to direct our main efforts against America, the subjugation of which ought to be a secondary object. The measures of government were principally defended by lord Stormont, the earl of Hillsborough, and the chancellor ; and the amendment was rejected by seventy-five to thirty-one, while no more than three peers subscribed their names to a short protest.

In the house of commons, Mr. Fox moved an amendment similar to that of lord Shelburne, declaring 'that any one

unacquainted with the British constitution, and ignorant that the speech was contrived by a cabinet council, would pronounce it that of an arbitrary and unfeeling monarch, who, having involved the slaves, his subjects, in a ruinous and unnatural war, to glut his enmity or satiate his revenge; was determined to persevere in spite of calamity or fate itself.' The mover of the address had complained in strong terms of certain members so lost to honor and duty, as to glory in the success of the enemy: in reply to this invective, Mr. Fox observed, that lord Chatham, in the very commencement of the dispute, 'thanked God that America had resisted the claims of the mother country.' 'But all the calamities of the nation,' he continued, 'are ascribed to the wishes, the joy, and the speeches of opposition. O miserable and unfortunate ministers! Blind and incapable men! whose measures are framed with so little foresight, and executed with so little firmness; that they crumble to pieces and bring ruin on the country, merely because a rash, weak, or wicked man in the house of commons makes a speech against them! Retrospective measures are deprecated; but ministers must bear to hear them from the representatives of an abused people: he even trusted that they would hear them at the tribunal of justice, and expiate them on the public scaffold: he would not say they were actually in the pay of France, for he could not prove the fact; but they had worked for the aggrandisement of the *grand monarque* more faithfully than any ministers of his own had ever done.' In support of these assertions, Mr. Fox reviewed the origin and conduct of the war; ascribing our loss of the colonies to the undue influence of the crown, and connecting the calamities of the nation with the system of government, and with the men in power. It was only by changing the one, and removing the others, that the fountain-head could be purified, and the stream cleansed from contamination.

Mr. Thomas Pitt hesitated not to affirm that no administration could be carried on, without bringing to account those who had reduced the nation to its present disgraceful condition: it signified little what puppets directed the machine of government, while a secret poisoning influence remained: he hoped ministers would not be displaced till they had brought the nation to such a crisis as must draw down on them a suitable reward: he would not consent to a shilling of supply in support of a war to which the country gentlemen had unfortunately afforded too much countenance. Several other members spoke in very reproachful terms of the con-

dition of the navy; and were answered by lord Mulgrave, who refuted many assertions by contradicting evidence, and affirmed that at no previous time had so ample and effective a marine been provided: the present war might be calamitous, but it was not disgraceful; nor could any period be mentioned when the honor and spirit of the nation were at a more glorious height. Lord North treated with scorn the insinuation that ministers were in the pay of France, vindicated their zeal in the service of the country, and ascribed any errors that had been committed to the head rather than to the heart. The American war was prosecuted, not with the infamous design of aggrandising the crown at the expense of the constitution, but of preserving unbroken that old and venerable fabric for which our forefathers had bled, and which all Europe envied. Because a melancholy disaster had occurred in Virginia, were we on that account to lie down and die? No: it should rather animate us to more bold and vigorous exertions. As for himself, he would not be deterred by menaces of impeachment from striving to preserve the rights and legislative authority of parliament: the war had been unfortunate, but not unjust; founded in right, and dictated by necessity: he had always thought so; and if the share he had taken in it should bring him to the scaffold, his opinions would remain unaltered.

This speech of the premier moved the indignation of Mr. Burke, who called it not only imprudent, but audacious: 'the war,' he said, 'was not unfortunate, but disgraceful; for the former epithet could only apply to occurrences in which fortune alone was concerned; while the present war exhibited neither plan nor foresight: victory and defeat in this case were each equally calamitous, for each instigated us to go on: but the king's speech was the greatest of all calamities, for it showed the determination of ministers to consummate our ruin.' Alluding to the rights for which it was said we went to war, he asked, whether we ought to risk every thing, forfeit every thing, and think of no consequences, for the sake of a right? Did we not know that right, without might, is worth but very little; and that a claim, without the power of enforcing it, was nugatory in the copyhold of rival states? 'O, says a silly man, full of his prerogative of dominion over a few beasts of the field; there is excellent wool on the back of a wolf, and therefore he must be sheared. What! shear a wolf? Yes. But will he comply? Have you considered the trouble, and how you will get this wool? O! I have considered nothing, and I will consider nothing, but my right: a wolf is

an animal that has wool ; all animals that have wool are to be shorn ; and therefore I will shear the wolf. Such was the kind of reasoning urged by the minister of this country.'

After a very protracted discussion, the amendment was negatived : on bringing up the report of the address, the debate was renewed, and principally distinguished by an eloquent harangue of Mr. William Pitt, who, after showing that no confidence ought to be placed in men who could not confide in each other, proceeded to analyse the different reasons assigned for continuing the war. Lord North had argued that it was just and necessary : with regard to its justice, nothing need be said ; but the term necessity, as applied to its prolongation, was not easily understood ; it could mean nothing short of physical necessity ; and to say that an end could not be put to the war, if parliament were so resolved, was an absurdity too gross for animadversion. Lord George Germaine had rested all his hopes on the more mild and moderate expectation of the practicability of despatching a sufficient force to enable the friends of Great Britain to conquer their opponents : to appreciate the wisdom of this conceit, Mr. Pitt recommended a retrospect of the war ; the events of the last campaign ; and, above all, the tenth article of lord Cornwallis's capitulation, where all the friends of Great Britain, all the loyalists who had been treacherously deluded to join the army, were left to the civil justice of their country : he could not define the civil justice of America ; but if the same treacherous system which had long disgraced England were persevered in, civil justice might overtake those who were much more proper objects of its operation.

Mr. Burke also adverted, in terms of great severity, to the capitulation of lord Cornwallis, and the omission of any article to secure the American loyalists from the vengeance of their countrymen. 'It is a horrible spectacle,' said he, 'which must meet the eyes of a prince of the blood,³ who cannot sail along the American coast without beholding the faithful adherents of his father hanging in quarters on every head-land.' He then compared the surrender of York-town with that of Saratoga ; branding ministers as the cause of those disasters, and the address as the most infamous, abandoned, and lying paper, the house had ever been called on to vote.

Mr. Courtenay undertook the defence of lord Cornwallis, and the report was received by a majority of 131 to 54. His

³ Prince William Henry, then a midshipman in the fleet.

lordship, however, was not the only commander exposed to animadversion; for Sir George Rodney and general Vaughan fell under the lash of Mr. Burke, who, in a motion for copies of their instructions, represented them as cruel and cowardly in their meditated attack on St. Vincents, and as wanton and rapacious plunderers of St. Eustatius: he displayed the absurdity of selling the stores in such a manner as to furnish the enemy with supplies; and accused the admiral of promoting their success, by lingering on the spot, to which his own interests fixed him, while the French fleet was reinforced, and Tobago taken. The admiral, in his defence, stated that he appeared before St. Eustatius to cut off supplies from the enemy, to whom the inhabitants, though nominally friends of England, had acted as allies: many residents, who called themselves Englishmen, were not ashamed to supply warlike stores for the destruction of their country; and them he had determined not to spare. Instead of suffering stores to be conveyed to the enemy's islands, directly or indirectly, he had ordered them all to his majesty's depots at Antigua; and instead of remaining inactive, he had planned two expeditions, against Curaçoa and Surinam, when he received advice that a French fleet of ten or twelve sail, with about seventy transports, was steering for Martinique; and despatched Sir Samuel Hood with fifteen sail to meet them. His intention afterwards to fight de Grasse was disconcerted by intelligence conveyed to the French admiral; and he detailed facts which fully exculpated him in not succoring Tobago, or preventing the catastrophe in Virginia. General Vaughan protested, on his honor, that he was not directly or indirectly enriched to the extent of one shilling by the capture of St. Eustatius; and that he had treated the enemy with the utmost lenity: on the whole, he had acted to the best of his judgment, for his country's good, and not his own; and as he was neither a lawyer nor a merchant, he should not in similar circumstances act differently.

In debating the army estimates, the principle of the war again came under consideration; when a motion for wholly stopping the supply being overruled, Sir James Lowther moved a resolution, 'that the war carried on in North America had been ineffectual either in protecting the king's subjects, or defeating the dangerous designs of his enemies.' If this proposition were assented to, he would follow it with another; 'that all farther attempts to reduce the revolted provinces were repugnant to the true interests of the kingdom, as tending to weaken its efforts against its ancient and powerful enemies.'

He was seconded in a long and able speech by Mr. Powys, who declared that the country gentlemen, long deceived, could be deluded no longer; for no idea of American revenue remained; no idea of alleviating the burdens of Great Britain by carrying on the war: there could be no other motive, than to preserve the power, the consequence, and the emoluments that flowed from it.

Lord North acknowledged the fairness and unexceptionable moderation of the motions; but he refused to concur in them, chiefly because they formed a parliamentary advertisement to the enemy, respecting the manner in which the next campaign would be conducted; but he acknowledged, as the estimates themselves would show, that government had no intention of substituting another army for that surrendered by lord Cornwallis: posts must be maintained, and defended in case of attack, and British commerce must be protected against American cruisers; but Sir James Lowther's motions would prevent the accomplishment of all these objects. Lord George Germaine coincided in opinion with the premier, but declared that whenever the house adopted a resolution to give up America, he would retire; for American independence would be ruin to the British empire. Mr. Dunning also, though he acquiesced in the motions, asserted the same sentiment; adding, with great warmth, that the proposition to declare America independent fell very little short of high treason. The motion, however, for the order of the day was carried by a majority of only forty-one, twenty of the usual supporters of administration having gone over to the opposition.

This debate was renewed in the next sitting of the house, on the fourteenth of December; when the eloquence of Mr. Pitt was displayed in exhibiting the total disagreement of principles among the members of the cabinet: he described them as being at war with each other in opinion, and distrustful of mutual support; yet meanly continuing in power for the enjoyment of office, and responsible for measures of which they could not approve. Their only principle of coherence, he averred, seemed to be the ruin of the empire; an object, which he feared they might accomplish ere the vengeance of the people could overtake them. 'And God grant,' he added, 'that the punishment be not so long delayed, as to involve a great and innocent family, who, though they share not the guilt, will most likely participate in the atonement.'

Sir George Savile ridiculed the address, and likened the crown and parliament to dancers in a minuet to a tune of the

minister's composition: the crown led off one way, the parliament in a similar step to the opposite corner: they then joined hands, and the dance ended as it began. He also compared ministers to the Spartan, who in an engagement by sea, swam to a galley, and seized the stern with his right hand, which was instantly chopped off: he then renewed the effort with his left, which shared the same fate; and when he was asked if he still meant to persevere, made answer by seizing the galley with his teeth. Thus administration had lost two armies, (both their hands) in attempts on America; yet, like the Lacedemonian, they were determined to proceed: but they should remember, that when he did so, he was deprived of his head. On a division, the majority was 166 to 84, being less favorable to opposition than that of the preceding day. A strong attempt in the house of lords made by the marquis of Rockingham to prevent the third reading of the malt and land-tax bills before the recess, was also rejected. Debates occurred on the subject of Mr. Laurens, who was still detained in the Tower; and Mr. Burke gave notice of a motion in his behalf; but this was rendered unnecessary by the discharge of that gentleman, in exchange for general Burgoyne.

The adjournment of parliament, though as usual, strongly resisted, was favorable to opposition: the administration was evidently shaken; the country gentlemen had shown a disposition to desert them, however unwilling they were to impede the exertions of government; opinions gained ground respecting divisions in the cabinet; and public meetings, with committees and delegates, still continued: an address, accompanied with a petition, was voted to his majesty on the sixth of December, by the city of London, reprobating his speech from the throne, as well as the whole conduct of the war; and requiring the dismissal of all his advisers both public and private. A similar address was voted, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Fox, in Westminster; while the counties of Middlesex and Surrey, the West India planters, and many other public bodies, adopted the same measure. Still the principle of the war was not generally unpopular: the improbability of success alone occasioned irritability in the people. Neither did the aspect of military operations at the close of this, and the opening of the succeeding year, serve to allay the public indignation. The French government having sent out a naval armament with large supplies for their East and West India squadrons, admiral Kempenfeldt was despatched, with twelve sail of the line, a fifty gun ship, and four frigates, for the purpose of intercepting them. The British commander, having fortunately met

the enemy's ships dispersed by a gale of wind off Ushant, succeeded in capturing twenty transports, laden with ordnance stores and troops ; but was obliged to retire from a contest, on account of the great inferiority of his force. The valuable prizes which he brought into port, by enhancing the loss of what remained behind, served to increase the murmurs of the public against ministers, who were loudly censured, both in and out of the house, for their deficiency in information, or their gross neglect of duty.

Among the principal domestic events of the year, may be reckoned the court held at St. James's, on the first of January, at which the prince of Wales made his appearance on the occasion of his having a separate establishment allotted to him. Even at this time he was unquestionably one of the most accomplished men of his age : in countenance and person eminently handsome, he joined the most elegant manners with very considerable endowments of mind : he was not only a good classical scholar, but he spoke with fluency several modern languages : that taste in the fine arts, which ultimately led to his munificent encouragement of them, was very early conspicuous ; and his proficiency in music both vocal and instrumental was far from contemptible. With such talents and accomplishments, even without the addition of his illustrious rank and future expectations, he would have been courted by all, whose genius, wit, and eloquence impart its brightest colors to society. The chosen associates of the prince, at his entrance into life, were men of the most fascinating manners and transcendent talents ; but unfortunately there was among them a party, who, to gain an ascendancy over his mind, scrupled not to pander to his love of pleasure. He had been brought up with an anxious attention, due to one on whose character the destiny of millions depended ; but perhaps the restraints of his education were more strict than a judicious consideration of circumstances would have warranted : be this as it may, as soon as he was relieved from tutelage, he rushed headlong into dissipations, which invited him under the most seductive forms, and which were even prepared by those, whose social qualities rendered them dangerous companions of youth. In the year preceding that of which we are now treating, the prince had formed a very objectionable connexion with the celebrated Mrs. Robinson, known by the name of Perdita ; and the consequence of this was an expensive establishment for the lady, whose house was frequented by persons of high rank and talents. At any time this would have been reprehensible ;

but it was particularly so in the face of a court like that of George III., and at the close of so disastrous and expensive a war. The king felt the stroke severely, although the harshest epithet applied by him to the prince was that of 'a thoughtless boy:' very different however were his sentiments concerning those who had taken advantage of that thoughtlessness, and whom he ever afterwards looked on as the seducers of his son.

Early in March, a distemper broke out again among the horned cattle; when those that were diseased were ordered by the council to be killed, and the carcasses buried: about the same time also advices were received of the tremendous hurricane which took place towards the end of last year in the West Indies, with the loss of the following ships of war;—the Thunderer, seventy-four guns; the Sterling Castle, sixty-four; Phoenix, forty-four; and Scarborough, twenty. In August, his majesty, accompanied by the prince of Wales, paid a visit to the Nore, and held a naval levee on board the Fortitude, which carried vice-admiral Parker's flag. With regard to the internal affairs of our principal opponents, it may be observed, that Spain was exhausting her strength before Gibraltar, on which she could make no impression; and that Neckar had been long laboring to bring the finances of France to such a state as to meet her vast expenditure: for this end, he endeavored to enforce a strict system of economy, and to revive M. Turgot's plan of provincial administrations; but the higher classes were too depraved to assist him in any public-spirited measures, and Neckar was soon afterwards compelled to retire.

Intelligence of events from the theatre of war, which arrived after the recess of parliament, did not tend to diminish the public odium now gathering round the administration of Great Britain. The marquis de Bouillé, after the reconquest of St. Eustatius, and preparations made for that of Demerara and Issequibo, proceeded to the attack of St. Christopher's, where he landed 8000 men, protected by thirty-two sail of the line under de Grasse; and though Sir Samuel Hood, with great skill and address, succeeded, with only twenty-two line of battle ships, to lure the French admiral from the coast; and, by placing himself in the vacant situation, to cut off his communication with the army; yet the island surrendered to the menaces of the French general, who threatened to burn the plantations, and renew the devastation which had been committed at Tobago. Admiral Hood preserved his squadron by slipping cables in the night, and getting silently under weigh. Nevis and Montserrat being soon afterwards

reduced, Barbadoes and Antigua were now the only leeward islands that remained to Great Britain : nor was it long before the public dissatisfaction was still farther increased by the loss of Minorca, after one of the most heroic defences recorded in history, by a garrison which did not exceed half the number required for the works ; and which, through famine and sickness, was reduced to 600 effective men.

During the recess, the opponents of administration had been employed in forming and maturing a general plan of attack ; the chief conduct of which was entrusted to Mr. Fox, whose genius was most effectively displayed, not in devising large and beneficial plans of executive policy, but in comprehensive eloquence, and opposition to the measures of his political opponents. 'This session, however,' says Mr. Nicholls, 'was his glorious campaign : his health was intire ; his troops followed him with confidence ; he felt that he gained ground on every debate :

His spirit lent a fire
Ev'n to the meanest peasant in the camp.'

The contest was opened by a motion of Mr. Fox, for a committee to inquire into the causes of that want of success which had attended the navy during the war, and more especially in the year 1781. This inquiry, it was stated, would resolve itself into two distinct parts : whether the first lord of the admiralty had the means of procuring a navy equal to the exigences of the state ; and whether he employed the force which he really possessed with wisdom and ability. After a partial defence of the navy by captain Luttrell, and a general exculpation of the earl of Sandwich by lord Mulgrave, who contended that he had acted according to information, moral probability, and existing circumstances, the motion passed without a division ; lord North declaring that the first lord of the admiralty was no less anxious than himself, that the subject should undergo a complete investigation. Several animated debates took place respecting the papers to be produced ; and when lords North and Mulgrave objected to the disclosure of letters and other documents relating to the subject, a suggestion of Mr. Pitt was adopted, that the substance only of such communications should be laid before the house ; after which, the debates were postponed till the seventh of February.

On that day, Mr. Fox, in a long and able speech, brought forward five charges against the board of admiralty : first, that

de Grasse was suffered to depart for the West Indies without any effort to intercept his fleet: the second charge alluded to the transactions at St. Eustatius, and the loss of the convoy sent home with the booty, which might have been saved by a squadron sent out at the time it was expected: the third was on account of a letter sent by the admiralty to the merchants of Bristol; misleading them with regard to the presence of the French fleet in the channel, and thereby endangering the trade of their port: the fourth charge related to the force sent to cope with the Dutch; and the fifth to the very inadequate fleet sent out with admiral Kempenfeldt. He concluded by moving that 'there had been gross mismanagement in the administration of naval affairs during the year 1781.' Mr. Pitt supported this resolution; but would have preferred a motion for the removal of lord Sandwich, to whom he imputed all our naval disasters and disgraces. Though the rejection of Mr. Fox's motion showed the great difficulty of fixing any responsibility on ministers under the existing system of parliamentary representation; yet a majority of only twenty-two, in a house of 388 members, was sufficiently discouraging to the present administration. Some motions in the house of lords respecting the execution of colonel Haynes, and the surrender of York-town, caused violent debates, and severe attacks on several characters concerned; but no measure occasioned fiercer opposition than that of raising lord George Germaine to the peerage. Disagreeing with the other members of the cabinet respecting the future conduct of the war, his lordship had resigned his office to Mr. Welbore Ellis; and the title of viscount Sackville was destined for him by the king, as a reward for his uncompromising opposition to American independence, and his resolute conduct as war-minister. On the bare report that this mark of royal favor was intended, a resolution was proposed by the marquis of Carmarthen, that 'it was derogatory to the honor of the house of lords that any person laboring under so heavy a sentence of a court martial should be recommended to the crown as worthy of a peerage:' but after several intemperate speeches had been made, reflecting on the character of lord George, and threatening him with impeachment, a motion of adjournment was carried by a large majority. When the new-made peer took his seat, the debate was renewed, and his lordship defended himself with great spirit and dignity; but was unable to prevent the insertion of a protest on the journals, signed by nine peers, repeating the motion, sentence, and public orders: it also declared, 'that the

elevation of lord Sackville was a measure fatal to the interests and glory of the crown, as well as the dignity of parliament; an insult on the memory of the late sovereign, and every surviving branch of the illustrious house of Brunswick.' Yet it would be very hard, if the reigning monarch were prohibited from revising the acts of a predecessor; especially those, in which clamor and prejudice may be suspected to have had considerable influence.

These personal attacks were preparatory to a general assault, which was conducted with much ability and perseverance, and was finally crowned with success. On the twenty-second of February, Mr. Fox renewed the motion against the admiralty which he had lost in a committee, being ably seconded by Mr. Pitt, who went through an accurate detail of naval events in the preceding year, and commented on each with remarkable acuteness and force of reasoning. Mr Dunning declared, that the speech which he made on this occasion, was 'the bursting forth of a torrent of eloquence from the greatest prodigy that perhaps ever was seen in this or any other country;—an honorable gentleman, possessing the full vigor of youth, united with the experience and wisdom of the maturest age.'⁴ When the house divided, the majority for ministers decreased,⁵ although the members present were more numerous than on the former occasion.

Encouraged by this progressive decline of ministerial influence, general Conway moved a resolution for an address to the king, imploring him to put an end to the American war; and promising to assist in effecting a happy reconciliation with the revolted colonies. After each side had repeated arguments often employed, ministers were so far deserted by the country gentlemen, as to be left in a majority of one; the numbers being, for the motion 193, against it 194.

Fully confident of success, general Conway, on the twenty-seventh of February, moved a resolution against the farther continuance of hostilities, in terms as near to the former as the rules of the house would permit. When lord North obtained a hearing, he declared, that if the confidence of parliament should be withdrawn from him, it would be his duty to resign: he admitted the motion to be constitutional; but wished for a short delay, to convince the house that ministers were sincere in their intention of not recruiting the army in America. Mr. Wallace, the attorney-general, endeavored to

⁴ Dr. Tomline's Life of Pitt, vol. i. p. 53.

⁵ 236 to 217.

parry the blow, by stating his intention to bring in a bill which would enable ministers to treat on the basis of a truce; for which reason he moved an adjournment of the debate. On this proposition, Mr. Pitt was particularly severe; and on the ground of lord North's own declaration, he urged the house, by every consideration of duty and prudence, to withdraw its confidence from the present cabinet. 'Was there a promise,' he asked, 'which they had not falsified? was there a plan in which they agreed? No; there was an incessant variation: a shuffling and tricking pervaded their whole conduct; and in them parliament could place no trust.'

The question of adjournment was carried against ministers by a majority of nineteen; and the original motion passed without a division. General Conway followed up his victory by procuring an address to the throne for peace with America; which was presented two days afterwards by the whole house. Still ministers made an effort to arrest their fall, by putting a general and evasive answer into the mouth of the king; but their opponents had become too powerful for them. General Conway moved a second address, thanking his majesty for his reply to the first; but again urging the specific object of the petition: at the same time he proposed a resolution that the house would consider as enemies to the sovereign and the country all who should recommend or attempt to prosecute offensive warfare with the colonies: and both these motions were carried without a division, by a parliament, which in the preceding November had promised to his majesty their firm support in carrying on hostilities. As lord North still lingered in office, his opponents, led by Mr. Fox, pressed their attacks yet farther: they were indeed defeated on two motions made by lord John Cavendish and Sir John Rous, for a change of ministry; but the small majorities against them led only to an assurance of ultimate success. Mr. Pitt spoke very vehemently on these occasions; severely reprobating a proposition made by lord North for a coalition of parties, and declaring that his administration had been one of influence and intrigue, while it was generally acknowledged that he and his colleagues were unfit for the purposes of government: they were men who had neither sensibility nor shame; but were void of feeling, and all other valuable qualities which constitute the great statesman and powerful minister. While the last division on the fifteenth of March was taking place, Mr. Fox gave notice that a similar motion would be made on the Wednesday following. On that day an unusual number of members, and a vast crowd of strangers, attended; but when lord Surrey rose

to make the promised motion, lord North suddenly announced to the house that the cabinet was dissolved. He thanked the commons for the long support with which they had honored him; asserted his constant desire of contributing to the welfare of his country; and promised that he would not shrink from any inquiry into his official conduct. On this occasion, he received various compliments, as might have been expected, from his adherents; while the exultation manifested by several of his opponents called forth animadversions from a generous adversary,⁶ who strongly exhorted his associates to guard against those passions which distort the human mind: he also pointed out to them the great expectations which their own declarations intitled the nation to form, and the difficult task which they had bound themselves to accomplish.

The new ministerial arrangements required time for serious consideration. The opposition consisted principally of two distinct and powerful parties, at the head of which, respectively, were the marquis of Rockingham and the earl of Shelburne: the former of these noblemen contended for the complete emancipation of the colonies; while the latter, though opposed to the principle of taxation and the continuance of hostilities, adhered to the opinion of lord Chatham regarding their independence. As lord Shelburne's sentiments on this point were in unison with those of the king, his majesty naturally looked to him as the successor of his late minister: accordingly, the day after lord North had announced his resignation, the king offered him the first post: lord Shelburne, however, informed his majesty, 'that in his judgment no one could at present fill that situation except lord Rockingham.'⁷ Under these circumstances, a negociation was set on foot with the marquis, whose appointment was soon afterwards announced,⁸ with lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox as secretaries of state: lord Camden was made president of the council, and the duke of Grafton keeper of the privy seal: admiral Keppel, created a viscount, became first lord of the admiralty; lord John Cavendish

⁶ Mr. Burke.

⁷ Dr. Tomline's *Life of Pitt*, vol. i. p. 64. note.

⁸ 'When lord Rockingham,' says Mr. Nicholls, 'had signified his acceptance of it, the king appointed so distant a time for receiving him, that three intire days elapsed before his majesty saw his new minister. By this treatment his majesty expressed the sentiments he entertained for him. The cabinet was composed of eleven; five Rockinghams, and five Shelburnes; the king retaining one, lord Thurlow.' *Recollections*, vol. i. p. 45.

chancellor of the exchequer; general Conway, commander in chief; Mr. Dunning, created lord Ashburton, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; and the duke of Richmond, master general of the ordnance, with a blue riband: lord Thurlow retained the great seal.

Other departments of state were filled by persons eminent for rank or talent. The duke of Portland went out as lord lieutenant to Ireland; Mr. Burke was made paymaster of the forces; Mr. T. Townshend and colonel Barré secretary at war, and treasurer of the navy; Mr. Sheridan under secretary of state; Lord Howe, created a viscount, was appointed to command the grand fleet; Mr. Kenyon and Mr. John Lee were made attorney and solicitor-general; while Sir Fletcher Norton was raised to the peerage, under the title of lord Grantly.⁹

In the late important debates, Mr. Pitt had taken a conspicuous part, and had spoken with immense applause: the talents which he possessed had been discovered by all, while the power which he was likely to obtain over the councils of his country, was noted by a few, who adopted early precautions to secure his regard. Various places were offered to him in the new ministry, and among others, that of vice-treasurer for Ireland; but he refused any situation which should pledge him to measures, without giving him a seat in the cabinet. Besides, it is probable that his acuteness led him to foresee the speedy dissolution of an administration, which was composed of heterogeneous materials, without any firm principle of union. It was sufficient for Mr. Pitt, that he participated in that popularity which Fox and his adherents had procured by their late spirited exertions in parliament: it is a proof of his profound sagacity, that he was the only person who reaped any great and permanent advantage from it.

Mr. Fox, though not nominally the head, was generally regarded as the principal person in this administration. Inferior to his political tutor and friend, Mr. Burke, in commanding

⁹ 'He had never done the party any service,' says Mr. Nicholls; 'but was recommended by lord Rockingham, in order that he might appear to have equal influence with the earl of Shelburne, who had procured the elevation of Mr. Dunning. The king had discernment enough to perceive the motive, and asked if it was his lordship's particular wish: lord Rockingham declined answering in the affirmative; but said, he thought Sir Fletcher Norton ought to be made a peer. He accordingly was made, and voted against the Rockinghams in the ensuing session.' *Recollections*, vol. i. p. 47.

eloquence and political wisdom ; he excelled him in vigor of debate, in the advantages of birth and connexion, in the art of suiting his doctrines and manners to the taste of the people, and in that tact which is necessary to fix a man at the head of a political party : his unbounded popularity in the country, and the aristocratic feeling in his favor, gave him more weight than the highest official dignity could give. Mr. Burke, as his biographer justly asserts, considered humility in the estimate of ourselves a species of moral duty, and submitted to the ingratitude of his party without a murmur :¹⁰ he neither resented his exclusion from the cabinet like a vain man, nor complained of it like a weak one ; but yielded with a good grace ; and took the office allotted to him, with the honorable design of purifying it from the corruption by which it was disgraced.

‘Every day,’ says Mr. Nicholls,¹¹ ‘brought forth a new proof of that hatred, which the parties composing this administration bore towards each other : the Rockinghams abused lord Shelburne for want of good faith ; and the reply of the Shelburnes was, that they were no ways pledged to lord Rockingham.’ Mr. Fox, while speaking in terms of affectionate veneration for lord Rockingham, described lord Shelburne’s character as the exact reverse ;¹² and declared, that his repugnance to be associated in office with him and lord Thurlow,¹³ who was particularly odious to every member of the cabinet, yielded only to the satisfactory pledge for the integrity of administration, afforded by the ascendancy of the marquis.

The principal measures agreed on by the members of this cabinet before their accession to power, were the offer of peace to America on the basis of its independence ; the promotion of economy ; and the diminution of influence over either branch of the legislature. Before all things, however, the affairs of Ireland were found to require the attention of government.

When military associations had been formed throughout that country, the tendency towards union among all parties, for the redress of grievances, was speedily exhibited : they now began to assemble in large bodies for reviews ; by which means they

¹⁰ Prior’s Life of Burke, vol. i. p. 403.

¹¹ Recollections, vol. i. p. 47.

¹² Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 407.

¹³ ‘Lord Thurlow,’ says Mr. Adolphus, ‘by a long course of contest in both houses, had attracted peculiar dislike ; and from his manly, unbending temper, the ministers expected impediment rather than support.’ History, vol. iii. p. 407.

displayed their strength, acquired confidence in themselves, and were led to communicate and co-operate with each other for political purposes. One great object of the government of lord Carlisle, who succeeded the earl of Buckinghamshire in 1780, was to repress the spirit of this system, which had been encouraged by the imbecillity of his predecessor; but he only excited that spirit to new and more energetic exertions. On the thirteenth of November, 1781, Mr. Grattan, in pursuance of popular instructions, offered to the house of commons a bill to explain, amend, and limit the mutiny act: his motion was rejected, but renewed early in December by lord Arran, and evaded by a motion of delay for six months. As soon, however, as the armed people of Ireland saw their representatives beginning to resume their former tone, in negating proposals for the establishment of a free constitution, they determined to rely on themselves for the realisation of their wishes: on the thirteenth of February, 1782, the memorable convention took place at Dungannon; in which the delegates of the volunteer associations, assuming a deliberative character, framed the decisive exposition of the demands of Ireland, and led to the establishment of her legislative independence.

The resolutions of this body affected to adjust many important points of government, especially the claim of any other power except that of the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to legislate for that kingdom; the powers of the privy council in each country; various obstructions to trade, not imposed by the Irish parliament; the limitation of the mutiny bill, the independence of the judges, and impartial administration of justice. In their determination to seek redress, they pledged themselves to support no candidate at any election, who refused to support their resolutions; resolved that the right of private judgment in religious matters was sacred in all; and therefore, as christians and protestants, they rejoiced in the relaxation of the penal laws against the papists, which took place in 1780, as tending to the union and prosperity of Ireland: they also made arrangements for future meetings, appointed a committee, and voted an address of thanks to the minority in the Irish parliament, for their noble, though ineffectual efforts in the cause of their great commercial and constitutional rights.

Deriving new hopes from these demonstrations of spirit, Mr. Grattan moved an address to the king, asserting the right of Ireland to an independent legislature: but his motion was rejected; as was another for a bill to quiet the proprietors of estates in Ireland under acts of the British parliament. As this

measure tended also to affirm that Great Britain had no right to legislate for Ireland, Mr. Yelverton, pursuing a middle course, carried a bill for making several laws, enacted in Great Britain, and affecting Ireland, acts of the Irish parliament. At this period, the disasters of a war, which by embarrassing the trade of Ireland led to its struggle for independence, displaced the British ministers; substituting in their stead the leaders of a party, which in opposition had constantly advocated the cause of freedom.

On the meeting of the English parliament after the Easter recess, Mr. Luttrell introduced the subject of Irish discontent; and required from Mr. Eden, who had been secretary under lord Carlisle, some explanation of the affairs of that kingdom. Mr. Eden readily obeyed the call; and after describing the conduct of government and of opposition during the last two years, insisted that the declaration of rights, so unanimously cherished, could no longer be opposed with success; nor did he think that the Irish would abuse the advantages they might obtain, or adopt measures injurious to England, while his majesty retained the power of sanctioning all their acts. Beside the declaration of rights, Ireland had called, through its volunteers, for a habeas corpus, and obtained it: a bill for the permanent commission of judges was in progress through parliament: the required alteration of the mutiny act might be granted; and a modification of Poynings's law, which would satisfy the people, could not be dangerous to England. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill, 'repealing so much of the act of the sixth of George I. as asserted that the king and parliament of Great Britain had a right to make laws binding the kingdom and people of Ireland.'

This motion was seconded with great animation; but Mr. Fox, when in place, had not exactly the same sentiments as when out of place: after declaiming with indignation against indecent haste in bringing forward such a measure, and abusing the late ministry for not acceding to moderate requests, which would have prevented these haughty claims, he prevailed on Mr. Eden to withdraw his motion. Next day, a message from the king was submitted to parliament, expressing concern at the discontent and claims of Ireland, and exhorting the house to take measures for a satisfactory adjustment of them. In moving the address on this message, Mr. Fox, though he declared the resolution of ministers to act effectually, deprecated the hasty step of Mr. Eden, and required time for collecting information, and for deliberation on

the course to be pursued. His speech, as well as that of lord Shelburne in the upper house, was involved in studied mystery ; though it plainly appeared from Mr. Fox's observations, that the large concessions recommended by Mr. Eden were not to be contemplated.

In the midst of this hesitation, Mr. Grattan, in the Irish parliament, moved his celebrated address to the throne, containing a full and explicit declaration of the rights of Ireland. In the best style of Irish eloquence, he declared 'that he remembered Ireland when she was a child ; he had beheld her progress from injuries to arms, from arms to liberty : the Irish were no longer afraid of the French, nor of any nation, nor of any minister. If men turned their eyes to the rest of Europe, they would find the ancient spirit expired, liberty ceded, or empire lost ; nations subsisting on the memory of past glory, and guarded by mercenary armies : but Ireland, quitting such examples, had become a model to them ; she had excelled modern, and equalled ancient Europe. The meeting of the delegates at Dungannon was a great event ; and, like all original measures, matter of surprise till it became matter of admiration : he compared it to the English convention parliament, or the assembly of barons at Runnymede : all were original transactions, not flowing from precedent, but containing in themselves precedent and principle. All great constitutional questions would have been lost, the public would have been lost, had they depended only on parliament ; but they had fallen into the hands of the people, and by the people they would be preserved. The Irish volunteers were associated for the preservation of the laws ; but the claims of the British parliament were subversive of all law : the volunteers had supported the rights of the Irish parliament against those temporary trustees who would have relinquished them ; but England had no reason to fear the Irish volunteers ; they would die for England, and her majestic race of men. Allied by liberty as well as allegiance, the two nations formed a constitutional confederacy : the perpetual annexation of the crown was one great bond, but liberty was a still greater. It would be easy to find a king, but impossible for Ireland to find a nation which could communicate to them a great charter, save only England. This made England a natural connexion ; and every true Irishman would exclaim,—' Liberty with England ; but at all events, liberty.''

The motion was carried without a division. In the British parliament Mr. Fox no longer hesitated ; but having ex-

patiated in a committee of the whole house on the claims of Ireland, he allowed them to be founded on justice, and such as he, when out of office, had always maintained. Ireland had clearly stated her wants ; and though he might have preferred a different method of asking, he would meet her on her own terms. He concluded by moving 'for an act repealing that of the sixth of George I., for securing the dependence of Ireland.'¹⁴

Mr. Thomas Pitt seconded the motion, which passed without a division ; lord Beauchamp alone expressing a doubt, whether the repeal, leaving the question of right undecided, would satisfy the Irish nation. For Grattan's instrumentality in procuring this great concession, addresses were presented to him from various public bodies : he was styled the savior of his country ; and the Irish parliament voted £50,000 to purchase a house and lands for him and his heirs, as a testimony of national gratitude.

Among the popular measures now brought forward with success, was the bill for excluding contractors from sitting in the house of commons ; and also that for disqualifying revenue officers from voting in parliamentary elections : a rider was added to the latter in the lower house, which exempted from its operation those who held places for life ; and in the upper house lord Mansfield made a very able speech against the principle of the bill. The marquis of Rockingham, however, declared that his situation as first lord of the treasury would be extremely uneasy if it were rejected : in seventy boroughs the election depended chiefly on officers of the revenue : nearly 12,000 of these persons, created by the late administration, possessed votes in other places ; and he could not without remorse subject them, through his influence, to the necessity, or at least the imputation, of voting against the dictates of gratitude and conscience. This curious argument terminated the debate, and the bill passed.

The right of free election was strengthened by the success of Wilkes, who renewed his motion for expunging from the journals the resolutions concerning the celebrated Middlesex election. Mr. Fox, the man of the people, resisted this measure, on the principle that the house of commons ought, for the advantage of the people, to have the privilege of expelling those whom

¹⁴ That act declared that Ireland was inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, and bound by British acts of parliament, if named ; that the Irish house of lords had no jurisdiction in matters of appeal ; and that the *dernier ressort* in all cases of law and equity was to the peers of Great Britain.

they, as representatives, thought unworthy of a seat; which privilege was too valuable to be surrendered. Elated with his triumph, Wilkes published a letter expressive of delight, in which few persons now participated: every constitutional question, for which such an instrument as Wilkes was requisite, had been long settled; and the instrument itself was cast aside as worthless.

The purity of the elective branch of the constitution was promoted by an act which passed by large majorities, for disfranchising many corrupt voters of the borough of Cricklade, and extending the right of suffrage to the freeholders of the hundred. In the progress of this bill through the upper house, it was strongly opposed by lords Thurlow, Mansfield, and Loughborough; being ably supported by lords Grantly and Ashburton; but more especially by the duke of Richmond. In the course of debate, his grace reproached the lord chancellor, not without some justice, with resisting indiscriminately every measure of improvement or regulation: lord Fortescue lamented the condition of the house of peers, lowered and tarnished as it was by a redundancy of lawyers, who sacrificed all the solid, honorable principles of truth and justice, to pettifogging chicanery, and the wretched quibbles of Westminster-hall. Evidence was called, and counsel heard against the bill; when the duke of Richmond again gave vent to his indignation against the legal phalanx; and being 'beset by lawyers above the bar, and interrupted by lawyers below the bar,' he called in counsel for his own assistance. By the influence of lord Shelburne, another important and beneficial law was enacted, by which the holders of patent places in the colonies were compelled to reside and execute the duties of their several offices.

During the administration of lord North, frequent complaints had been made, that the people of England were very imperfectly represented in the house of commons; and associations had been formed for the purpose of obtaining a reform in parliament. It was urged that the counties sent a very inadequate number of representatives; and that numerous small boroughs, with two members, were under the most corrupt and disgraceful influence: the septennial act also was declared to be one which impaired the connexion between the people and their representatives, while it exposed parliament to the most corrupt influence. All this was said to require correction, as a gross departure from the original principles of the constitution; and the freedom of political

thought which now prevailed, was considered highly favorable to the discussion of the subject.

Mr. Pitt was fixed on as the fittest person to bring forward this motion, which, from its delicacy and importance, required no ordinary qualifications: on the seventh of May therefore, when a call of the house had taken place, he brought forward this interesting question in a very able speech. After apologising for undertaking a task which required much greater ability and experience than he possessed, he went on to observe, that the most enlightened men, and amongst others his father, who was not apt to indulge in vague speculations, had maintained the necessity of a calm revision of the principles of the constitution, and of a moderate but substantial reform of those defects, which had gradually and imperceptibly stolen in, to deface, and which were threatening to destroy, the most beautiful fabric of government on earth. He spoke with great severity of that corrupt influence which had caused a perseverance in the American war, contrary to the sense of the people; and praised the patriotic conduct of the present government. He contended that the present state of the house of commons was totally different from its original construction; the members in general being more influenced by the crown or the aristocracy, than by the opinions and wishes of the people: many members were chosen by boroughs, which possessed no one quality of representation, not even that of population: their votes were constantly brought to market; and by means of such, it was that the nabob of Arcot had seven or eight members in the house of commons. Such places ought to be disfranchised or reformed, and an addition made to the county representatives. He requested that the house would permit this important subject to be investigated by a committee, with a view to moderate reform. Mr. Sawbridge, in seconding the motion, spoke of Mr. Pitt's speech as displaying great and astonishing ability: but though supported by Mr. Fox and some other official persons, it was thrown out by a small majority. Its principal opponents were Mr. Thomas Pitt, who, as proprietor of Old Sarum, ridiculed the idea of equal representation; Mr. Powys, who could not see the least utility in the revisal of a system which had stood the test of ages; and Mr. Dundas, who thought that the inquiry promised no benefit, and might lead to evil: it was, perhaps, wiser to submit to certain irregularities in an established form of government, than by attempting their correction to hazard the safety of the whole fabric: a practice may prevail, indefensible

in theory, and irreconcilable with the original design of an institution ; which yet, from the changes to which time subjects every community, may be far from mischievous, nay, even beneficial in its effects. While the opinions of younger men were in favor of this question, the older statesmen generally deprecated its agitation ; for sentiments had already begun to be entertained and inculcated in certain classes respecting government, very different from those of its supporters ; and doctrines, tending to diminish veneration for our constitutional establishments, were published by men of considerable name and authority, which spread rapidly among their adherents.

A secret committee had been appointed to investigate the abuses of our Indian government ; and when several reports had been presented to the house, Mr. Dundas reviewed the state of the company and its servants with great perspicuity and ability ; severely reprobating that spirit of ambition, which provoked the native powers, in the hope of profiting by their conquest ; that perfidy, which produced violations of treaty ; that prodigality, which had reduced the company to such embarrassment and distress ; and that general system of misgovernment, which had seriously injured all our Asiatic establishments. Several resolutions were passed, stating instances of gross misconduct. A bill of pains and penalties was carried against Sir Thomas Rumbold, for high crimes and misdemeanors committed in the Carnatic ; a vote of censure was passed on Warren Hastings, and William Hornsby, Esq., president of Bombay, the recall of whom was recommended to the directors ; while an address was voted to his majesty, praying for the recall of Sir Elijah Impey, chief justice of Bengal.

On the seventeenth of May, alderman Sawbridge renewed his annual attempt to shorten the duration of parliaments ; which, though supported by Mr. Pitt, was rejected by the usual majority : lord Mahon also introduced, without success, a bill to prevent bribery and expenses at elections, which also was powerfully supported by Mr. Pitt, but opposed by Mr. Fox : and this was the first time these great men differed from each other on a political question, before that disagreement took place which ended in their final separation. The conduct of ministry on the subject of parliamentary reform began to be considered by the public as suspicious, if not treacherous. Mr. Fox at a subsequent period took pains to justify himself on this point ; professing warmly his own attachment to the cause, while he acknowledged the antipathy with which some

of his colleagues, particularly Mr. Burke and Mr. Thomas Townshend, viewed it. The scheme, however, of ministerial economy was introduced with more sincerity and effect: on the fifteenth of April, a royal message was brought to the house, recommending the adoption of a plan for the curtailment of expenses throughout all the branches of public expenditure; and this was speedily followed by another, requesting the discharge of arrears on the civil list, which amounted to about £296,000. The house voted the requisite sum; and the savings intended to be made by the reform bill were mortgaged for its payment: but even here the anticipations of the public were considerably disappointed; and the sickle of retrenchment failed to produce that golden harvest, the prospect of which was so alluring. Many branches of expenditure were left untouched, and many appointments were retained which had been formerly represented as unnecessary and injurious; so that the principal reform was confined to Mr. Burke's own department, in which, though the bill was introduced by him, he effected a saving of £47,000 per annum, nearly half of which was the exclusive profit of the paymaster himself: the whole annual sum reduced amounted to £72,368. As Mr. Burke was a poor man, without any prospect of a secure income, his disinterested conduct appears in a very splendid point of view.

While such measures were proceeding in the senate, Mr. Fox commenced the exertion of his talents as a minister, by offering to Holland a renewal of amity on the terms of the treaty of 1674; and to effect so desirable an object, he proposed that hostilities should be immediately suspended: this proposal was made through the Russian minister; but was very coldly received by the states general, which were not disposed to treat separately from their allies: he also made overtures of peace to the colonies; for which there was a general impatience in England, founded on despair of success in the principal object of the war. Soon after his appointment, he proposed to recognise the independence of the United States unconditionally, and not to reserve it as a term of peace. Mr. Grenville was sent to Paris, on the first of May, to ascertain the sentiments of the American commissioners there, and to open a direct negociation with M. de Vergennes;¹⁵ while

¹⁵ At the same time lord Shelburne despatched Mr. Oswald on a similar commission;—a proceeding, which was viewed with jealousy and displeasure, and as an overweening contention for power, by the Rockingham party.

lord Shelburne officially wrote to the commander in chief in America to communicate the resolution of the British cabinet and of parliament to congress : that body however was found averse to entering on a separate negociation ; though its determination could not be made known to the present ministry before their dissolution by the death of their leader.

The cause of Great Britain seemed at this time degraded to the lowest state among the selfish powers of the continent, who were in hopes of wringing from her concessions favorable to a system of neutral duplicity ; when an event occurred, which had been prepared by the late administration ; and which, by lowering the naval pride of France and Spain, was calculated to avert from this country the necessity of any disgraceful or compulsory concessions.

After the conquest of all our Leeward islands, except Barbadoes and Antigua, the fleets of France and Spain projected an expedition against Jamaica ; and for this the reinforcement was despatched under de Guichen, which Kempenfeldt failed to intercept. Ministers were unjustly blamed at the time for permitting Sir G. Rodney to sail directly for the West Indies, instead of employing him conjointly with admiral Kempenfeldt ; but it appeared afterwards that they had judged wisely in disregarding this precarious advantage, for the sake of securing the junction of Rodney and Hood, and preserving our remaining possessions in the West Indies. Rodney hoped, by his early arrival at Barbadoes, to have prevented the fall of St. Christopher's ; but meeting with Sir Samuel Hood, who informed him of its surrender, and the retreat of de Grasse to Martinique, he sailed thither ; and, after long watching the motions of the French fleet to prevent its junction with the Spaniards, succeeded in bringing on a partial action off Guadeloupe : such however was the state of the wind, that only the van of the British was engaged, most of the other ships being becalmed under the high lands of Dominica. In the course, however, of the next two days, the enemy, by dint of great efforts, kept far to windward, and would have probably escaped, had they not been brought down, on the eleventh of April, to save one of their ships, which had dropped to leeward, having been crippled by running foul of the French admiral. By this casualty Rodney found himself in a situation to weather a large part of the opposing squadron, which was now reduced to thirty ships, two having been disabled in the previous action.

By daybreak on the twelfth, the line of battle was formed

in an incredibly short time, and at the distance of one cable's length between each ship; the officers of the fleet having acquired great experience in naval evolutions during the last two years on this station.¹⁶ As the signal was given for close contest, the ships came up separately, and ranged themselves against their opponents, passing along the enemy for that purpose; while they gave and received a most tremendous fire. After some time spent in a vigorous and destructive conflict, during which victory was long held in suspense, the British admiral executed a manœuvre, which had never before been practised in naval tactics.¹⁷ In his own ship, the *Formidable*, supported by the *Namur*, the *Duke*, and the *Canada*, he bore down, with all sail set, on the enemy's line, within three ships of the centre; and succeeded in breaking through it in a masterly style. 'In the act of doing so,' says Sir Gilbert Blane, 'we passed within pistol-shot of the *Glorieux*, which was so terribly handled, that, being shorn of all her masts, bowsprit, and ensign-staff, but with the white flag nailed to a stump, and breathing defiance as it were in her last moments; she lay a motionless hulk, presenting a spectacle, which struck our admiral's fancy as not unlike the remains of a fallen hero: being an indefatigable reader of Homer, he exclaimed, that now was to be the contest for the body of Patroclus.'

As soon as he had accomplished this manœuvre, the other ships of his division followed him, wore round, and doubled on the enemy; thus placing between two fires those ships which this skilful action had separated from the rest. As soon as Rodney and the vessels with him wore, he made a signal for the van to tack, by which they gained the

¹⁶ Life of Rodney, vol. ii. p. 228. His despatches to the admiralty after this battle tell a very different tale of his officers, from that which was told after the previous engagement. 'I want words,' he says, 'to express how sensible I am of the meritorious conduct of all the captains, officers, and men, who had a share in this glorious victory.'

¹⁷ Much has been said and written about the credit due to Rodney for the invention and execution of this manœuvre of breaking the enemy's line; and doubts have arisen whether it was the effect of design on the present occasion. Though it may be described in the tactics of Clerk, it was expressly treated of by Père Hoste in 1688, who has written the best work extant on naval tactics. The manœuvre was frequently practised in the Dutch wars. Whether it was designed by Rodney, or suggested to him by another, he has the credit of executing it; and, what is greater, of training his fleet to the power of executing it.

wind of the French, and completed their confusion; when a total rout ensued, and victory was no longer doubtful. The loss of the enemy amounted to eight ships: one had been sunk, another blew up after she had been taken, and six remained in possession of the conquerors: one of these was the admiral's own ship, the *Ville de Paris*, of 106 guns, and the only first-rate man-of-war that had ever been taken into port by any commander of any nation: she was a present to Louis XV, from the city of Paris, and is said to have cost £176,000. The intelligence of these events excited great exultation at home: Sir George Rodney received the unanimous thanks of parliament, with a peerage, to which a pension of £2000 was added, to descend to his heirs for ever.

The loss of men sustained by the British fleet in the actions of the ninth and twelfth of April, amounted only to 237 killed and 760 wounded; while that of the French, whose ships were crowded with soldiers, was computed at 3000 slain and 6000 wounded: those vessels that escaped were reduced almost to wrecks: Sir Samuel Hood afterwards captured the *Jason* and *Caton*, of seventy-four guns each, with two frigates, between *Hispaniola* and *Porto Rico*; while Rodney returned to *Jamaica*, where he was hailed with joyful acclamations as a deliverer.¹⁸ But it was in England where his glorious success made the greatest impression, and his name resounded from one end of the kingdom to the other; for the people, dispirited by the successes of the enemy, could scarcely divest themselves of fear lest they should be repeated; and nothing could exceed their indignation, when informed that measures had been taken by the new administration to deprive their favorite admiral of his command on that station, where he had been so long toiling to uphold the interests of his country, and restore the tarnished honor of the British flag.

Meanwhile the negociation for peace proceeded with discouraging slowness: prince Kaunitz spoke haughtily of contempt shown to the mediating powers in the commencement of a direct negociation; but refused to admit that France was equally blamable for accepting, as England for making, such overtures; nor did he express any satisfaction at the late glorious victory. If jealousy of the naval power of Great Britain

¹⁸ Blame has been attached to Rodney for not following up his victory with sufficient vigor and promptitude. On this point an important document was found among his papers, after his death; giving his reasons for not pursuing the enemy. See his *Life*, vol. ii. p. 218.

occasioned this feeling, ministers took the best course to remove it, by promptly declaring that the event made no alteration in their desire for peace, or in the terms proposed as a basis. France, however, still placed so much reliance on preparations made in the East Indies, and before Gibraltar, that she sought to protract the treaty by artifice; and proposed so many vague exceptions, that almost every trace of the original draught was obliterated.¹⁹

¹⁹ Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 441.

CHAP. XXV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1782.

Change in ministry through the death of lord Rockingham—Lord Shelburne's administration—Prorogation of parliament, and king's speech—Supplies—Anecdote respecting the regalia of the crown—Affairs of the war in America—Conduct of general Greene, and evacuation of Charleston—State of things in New York—Affair of captain Joshua Huddy—State of the war in the West Indies—Plan of our maritime warfare—Admiral Barrington's cruise—Brilliant affair of captain Jervis—Lord Howe's manœuvres—Dreadful losses sustained by admiral Graves's fleet—Loss of the Royal George—Siege and relief of Gibraltar—Prospect of a general pacification—Mr. Fitzherbert sent as minister plenipotentiary to Paris—Progress of negotiations—Attempts made by lord Shelburne to strengthen his cabinet—Hostilities commence between Pitt and Fox—Meeting of parliament in December—King's speech—Debates on the address, &c.—Parliament adjourns—Preliminary treaties—Affairs of Ireland—Embarrassed situation of the ministry—Commencement and conclusion of the coalition between Fox and lord North—Discussion of the preliminaries of peace in the house of lords—Defence of himself by lord Shelburne—Debates in the house of commons—Success of the coalition—Interregnum in the ministry—Addresses to the king for the appointment of a new administration—His majesty's embarrassment—Various attempts to form a cabinet—The coalition ministers forced on the king—Character of the coalition—Mr. Pitt's prudent and honorable conduct.

BEFORE any definitive measures of reconciliation and peace could be adopted, an event occurred which brought about another change in the British government. The marquis of Rockingham, who had been for some time declining in health, fell a victim, on the first of July, to a prevalent disorder, which acquired the name of influenza.

This liberal and patriotic nobleman's cabinet contained within itself jarring elements; for the dexterous and accomplished mind of lord Shelburne meditated supremacy; while the powerful genius of Fox, scarcely able to endure a rival, disdained to suffer a superior. All open indications of jealousy had hitherto been restrained by the dignified and conciliating character of the leader; but when his influence ceased, the

centre of attraction vanished in the system, and a total dissolution followed. On the very day after his lordship's decease, the king, to whom the earl of Shelburne's political principles were sufficiently agreeable, renewed the offer of placing him at the head of the cabinet: it was accepted, without any intimation being given to the principal members of the Rockingham party, who considered this conduct equivalent to a declaration of political hostility: accordingly, a schism ensued among the whigs; Mr. Fox, lord John Cavendish, Mr. Burke, and many others, left the administration; and the duke of Portland retired from his government in Ireland. When Fox was openly charged in parliament, on this account, with yielding to the feelings of disappointed ambition, he declared that his motive in resigning office was the appointment of lord Shelburne instead of the duke of Portland, whom the whigs considered as the natural successor of lord Rockingham. This acknowledgement brought down on him a storm of invective, in which Mr. Pitt took the lead, who charged Fox with 'hazarding the honor of the government from personal motives, and the safety of the country from pique; with acting on the principle of men and not measures, while he had the phrase of measures and not men perpetually on his lips; with endeavoring to embarrass the minister, when he could not degrade him; and with abandoning the sincerity of his principles, rather than contract the bounds of his ambition; determining, when he could not rule the government with absolute sway, to stand forth in the character of its assailant.' Thus began the conflict between these two eminent men. The principal vacancies in administration were filled up as follows: lord Grantham and Mr. Thomas Townshend were appointed secretaries of state; colonel Barré was made paymaster of the forces in the room of Mr. Burke; Sir George Yonge succeeded Mr. Thomas Townshend as secretary at war; and the lord advocate of Scotland became treasurer of the navy: earl Temple went as lord-lieutenant to Ireland, with the honorable William Wyndham Grenville as his secretary: but the promotion which attracted most attention was that of Mr. William Pitt, who, at the early age of twenty-three, and without passing through any subordinate offices, was elevated to the post of chancellor of the exchequer, and leader of the house of commons; at a time too, when the pecuniary concerns of the country were in a state of great embarrassment, owing to a long and expensive war, which still continued. A strong attachment had existed between lord Shelburne and the earl of

Chatham; and though the character of Mr. Pitt differed in many important points from that of the premier, yet he enjoyed his confidence, and derived great advantage from his political experience.

In this era, however, of ministerial changes, the administration of lord Shelburne was not destined to form an exception. Few men had more qualifications for acquiring power than that nobleman; but no one failed more completely in retaining it. He was a very accomplished person; of great sagacity, promptitude, and force in debate; dignified and graceful in his exterior; able to draw resources from all the stores of literature; and more intimately acquainted with the policy of foreign courts than any statesman in Europe: yet a suspicion of insincerity attached itself to every step of his political progress: he was accused of such duplicity by his colleagues in office, that he had long been designated as a jesuit, and in the satires of the day obtained the political nickname of 'Malagrida.' He was particularly odious to Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke; the latter of whom, when he rose in the house to support his friend, who had been justifying the late resignations, declared, that 'if lord Shelburne was not a Catiline or a Borgia in morals, it must not be ascribed to any thing but his understanding.' The principal charge made against him by the public, at this crisis, turned on his known aversion to American independence: it was thence argued, that his proposals of peace were the effect of dissimulation; and the nation must depend on caprice or any other contingency for that benefit which its general voice demanded. His lordship's own defence of his appointment in the house of lords tended to corroborate this opinion. 'He had been charged,' he said, 'with inconsistency relative to the independence of America: but his opinion still was, as it always had been, that whenever the parliament of Great Britain acknowledged that point, the sun of England's glory was set for ever; ruin and independence were linked together—the ruin, not of England only, but of America also.' This language, though well-calculated to obtain royal favor, excited no little astonishment in the colonies; for two months had scarcely elapsed, since Sir Guy Carleton, who succeeded to Sir Henry Clinton as chief in command, had been authorised to declare to congress, 'that his majesty, desirous of removing all obstacles to peace, had commissioned Mr. Grenville to propose the independence of the united provinces in the first instance, instead of making it a condition of a general treaty.' This discordant language, therefore, was in-

dignantly cited on the other side of the Atlantic, and echoed on this side, as a fresh instance of ministerial artifice and duplicity. When parliament was prorogued on the eleventh of July, the point in question was thus cautiously treated in the king's speech:—'Nothing,' said his majesty, 'can be more repugnant to my feelings than the long continuance of so complicated a war; but should the want of a corresponding disposition, on the part of the enemy, disappoint my hopes of terminating that calamity, I shall still rely on the spirit, affection, and unanimity of my parliament and people, to support the honor of my crown, and the interests of the nation. The most triumphant career of victory would not excite me to aim at more than reasonable terms of pacification; and I have the satisfaction to add, that I see no reason which should induce me to think of accepting less.' The supplies of this year were 100,000 seamen, with nearly the same number of land forces as were required in the preceding year. The loan was £13,510,000, the terms of which were near six per cent: but stocks were so low as fifty-four. New taxes were laid on insurances, bills of exchange, inland and coasting navigation, brandy, beer, salt, and tobacco: but imposts, which pressed so heavily on the lower classes, produced, as might have been expected, considerable animadversion.

It must not be forgotten, that when his majesty went down to prorogue parliament, a curious instance occurred of that inconvenience which arises from a sudden alteration in the old arrangements of office. A necessity existed, on this occasion, for sending the crown and sceptre from the Tower to Westminster: but Mr. Burke's reform bill had suppressed the jewel office; its master had been superseded; and no new regulation adopted for the conveyance of the crown jewels on occasions of public ceremony. Application was made to the lord high steward and lord chamberlain; but they doubted their authority to interfere: the next resource was the secretary of state, who gave an order to the keeper at the Tower for their transmission: but another difficulty then occurred; for, owing to the irregularity of the whole transaction, none of the royal carriages were in waiting. In this dilemma, the secretary was obliged to apply to Bow-street; and a dozen constables from the office there were employed to convoy the regalia of England, in two hackney coaches, along the outskirts of London, to Westminster. Another colonel Blood might have rendered this day memorable in the annals of Great Britain.

The blaze of war now languished, where it was first kindled,

in the American colonies : the surrender of lord Cornwallis in reality terminated the martial contest. When the whole of South Carolina, except Charleston and its vicinity, had been abandoned by the British, general Greene, the American commander, directed his mind toward the future. He had been led to expect that the French fleet, with a part of the land forces, would pass from the Chesapeake to Charleston, to co-operate with him in the recovery of the three most southern states : disappointed in that assistance, he was still bent on expelling his foes from North Carolina and Georgia, if not from their strong hold in Charleston : but though the spirit of enterprise was high in his army, few opportunities of exhibiting it occurred ; while events of an alarming nature gave him occasion for exerting that sagacity and presence of mind which distinguished his character : it was discovered that a portion of his army had entered into correspondence with the British for the purpose of delivering him into their power ; but the ringleader being detected and shot, the chief conspirators deserted. While engaged in the duties of the field, the southern army had endured privations and hardships almost exceeding belief : it is said, on American authority, that a large part of it were at times almost as naked as they were born ; and that the loins of the brave men who fought at the Eutaw springs, were actually galled by their cartouch-boxes ; while their shoulders were protected from chaffing, only by a piece of rug or a tuft of moss.²⁰ Left to repose, therefore, it is not surprising that they should brood over their sufferings, and expect some notice from the country which their valor had contributed to save : yet for a time they seemed to be wholly forgotten by congress, and their murmurs began to be heard : symptoms of mutiny appeared in the Maryland line ; but were preceded by a pathetic address to their general, in which they begged his attention to their thinned ranks, reduced from a brigade to about 200 men : but he had not the means to relieve them ; and his mind was burdened with the most painful anxiety. ' His troops,' it is said, ' had received no pay for two years ; they were nearly naked ; often without meat and bread ; while the sick and wounded were perishing for want of medicines and proper nourishment.'¹ Discontent also existed among the officers of the legion, respecting the appointment of colonel Laurens to its command ; and all tendered their resignation,

²⁰ Life of General Greene, in American National Gallery, p. 8.

¹ Ibid. p. 9.

complaining of partiality and injustice; but though the general accepted their commissions, he gave them such excellent advice, that they unanimously returned to their posts, resolving not to leave him in face of the enemy: in short, by his prudent and conciliatory conduct, he completely subdued the spirit of discord, and kept his whole army firm in its allegiance.

Except for the purpose of procuring provisions, the British troops undertook no new expedition: with their whole force they had been unable to keep possession of the country; and with their diminished means it would have been folly to renew the strife: they therefore determined to evacuate Charleston; having agreed to leave it uninjured, on condition of their retreat being unmolested: accordingly, on the fourteenth of December, the American army entered the city as the British rear guard departed from it; and the citizens, after having been for two years under the arbitrary restriction of a hostile garrison, cut off from all intercourse with their friends, and ignorant of their fate, now beheld them returning as liberators. Solemn thanks, on this interesting occasion, were offered to the Almighty in the different places of public worship; and the whole city presented a scene of joy and festivity. Even after this period, the difficulty of supplying rations to the army was so great, as to threaten serious consequences: but the general again removed the evil by becoming responsible, as an endorser of the contractors' bills: this transaction, however, is said to have been the cause of much subsequent embarrassment to himself and to his family after his decease.²

² When peace was restored, and general Greene returned to his native state, he was received in every place through which he passed with admiration and enthusiasm: on his arrival at Princeton, where the congress was then sitting, that body resolved to present him with two pieces of ordnance, taken from the British army, 'as a public testimony of the wisdom, fortitude, and military skill which distinguished his command in the southern department.' They had previously voted him a British standard and a gold medal, for the battle of Eutaw. The state of Georgia presented him with a beautiful plantation, a few miles from Savannah; and South Carolina conveyed to him a valuable estate: this latter he was obliged to part with, to free himself from the pecuniary obligations referred to in the text: to the former he removed, with his family, in the autumn of 1785: but the next year saw the death of this second of the military commanders of America, in its war for independence. It was no slight honor to be second to Washington.

At New York the American loyalists were filled with alarm and indignation at the tenth article of lord Cornwallis's capitulation; but their fears were at length quieted by the judicious conduct of Sir Henry Clinton, directing that in all cases the same attention should be paid to them as to the king's forces, without any distinction: yet when the departure of the French fleet and the abovementioned declaration had allayed their fears, an occurrence took place, which threatened to produce fresh contentions, and a mode of vengeful hostility more revolting than any that had yet been pursued. The Americans had always treated their own countrymen taken in arms against their cause with greater severity than other prisoners; on which account, a board of associated loyalists had long been established at New York, invested with administrative authority, subject to the ratification of the commander in chief: they had a prison for captives brought in by their parties, and the power of exchange or release; but with the express condition of not killing or maltreating their prisoners, under pretext of retaliation.

After the capitulation of lord Cornwallis, many loyalists urged Sir Henry Clinton to threaten vengeance for injuries inflicted on those who had joined the royal standard; but that prudent officer declined all such measures: while, however, he was engaged in negotiations with Washington for an exchange of prisoners, Joshua Huddy, a captain in the service of congress, was taken by a party of loyalists, and delivered over to captain Lippencott, one of their body, who, by order of the associated board, carried him into New Jersey, and there hung him on a tree, with a label, denoting that his punishment was a retaliation for one White, a member of the association. Sir Henry Clinton, resenting this indignity offered to himself, and anticipating the unpleasant consequences likely to ensue, had arrested Lippencott, and ordered him to be tried for the offence: he soon, however, received a stern letter from Washington, requiring, under threats of retaliation, that Lippencott should be delivered to him; or so many additional officers, as in exchange would be equivalent to Huddy. The British commander expressed surprise and displeasure at the demand, as well as the language in which it was conveyed; and as he had himself taken measures to appease justice, would not consent to adopt and extend a system of barbarity. Washington, however, was not deterred from seizing Messrs. Hatfield and Badgely as deserters, though protected by a flag of truce, an-

nouncing, at the same time, that he had selected a British officer, by lot, as an object of retaliation for Huddy, and that the time and place of his execution were fixed.

Sir Henry Clinton was relieved from the pain of farther negociation on this distressing subject, by his recall, which, after repeated solicitations, was at length granted: his successor was Sir Guy Carleton, who accompanied the official intelligence of his arrival, on the seventh of May, with the pacific vote of the house of commons, and his own declaration to alleviate as much as possible the horrors of war; for which purpose he requested a passport for his aide-de-camp to communicate with congress. This reasonable request, however, was refused by Washington, who also limited the admission of flags of truce to a single spot; and his conduct was approved by congress; which body, as if apprehensive of a schism on the subject of peace, renewed its resolutions against a separate treaty with Great Britain. Sir Guy, however, labored to bring about a cessation of hostilities, as well as an exchange of prisoners; and when he was enabled to state that negotiations had commenced with France, his applications began to meet with more regard. In the mean time, a distinct subject of painful negociation urgently claimed his attention. The victim, on whom the lot fell to expiate the murder of Huddy, was an officer in the guards, a fine young man in his nineteenth year, the only son of Sir Charles Asgill, a baronet of ancient family in Yorkshire; and to save him all entreaty and argument were found unavailing. In this bitter extremity, maternal love overcame every obstacle: his distracted mother, by her pathetic appeals and indefatigable perseverance, prevailed on the queen of France to undertake her cause; and the entreaties of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, backed by the earnest remonstrances of La Fayette, preserved captain Asgill from the ignominious fate of André. Washington, in obeying the order of congress to liberate his prisoner, declared, that in whatever light his agency might be viewed, he was never influenced by sanguinary motives; and that in the present instance, he was happy in sparing the effusion of innocent blood.

After Rodney's important victory, the war languished in the West Indies: the conquest however of the Bahama islands was effected by the Spanish governor of Cuba, without bloodshed; liberal terms being granted the garrison, which consisted of invalids: some defenceless settlements also on Hudson's, Haye's, and Nelson's rivers were destroyed by a squadron

under the celebrated la Perouse. To counterbalance these losses, the English captured some forts on the Mosquito shore from the Spaniards, and took Acra on the coast of Africa from the Dutch. The events which at this period took place in the East Indies have been already detailed; but the enemies of Great Britain still threatened, by a combination of their naval forces in Europe, to reduce her maritime superiority. The armaments which France, Spain, and Holland had equipped for active service consisted of seventy ships of the line; but these formidable preparations were rendered ineffective by the vigilance and valor of our commanders.

As the force of Great Britain on her own coasts was very inferior to that of her enemies if united, the first object was to prevent their junction, and to weaken them by separate attacks; the second, to protect our numerous convoys, without leaving the country too much unguarded; and the third, to relieve the important post of Gibraltar. Admiral Barrington, having sailed from Portsmouth with twelve ships of the line, to effect the first of these objects, met a French fleet of transports off Ushant, destined for the East Indies, under convoy of the *Protecteur* and *Pegase* of seventy-four guns, the *Actionnaire* of sixty-four, and a frigate: the British admiral commenced a chase; when the *Foudroyant*, captain Jervis, so far outstripped the rest during the night, that by daybreak he was out of sight of the fleet. Having come up with the *Pegase*, a fierce action ensued; and after an hour, she struck to the British flag: as both ships were fresh from harbor, and of equal force, the disparity of loss on each side was very remarkable; the French having eighty men killed, while no Englishman was slain, and only three or four wounded. The prize, reduced almost to a wreck, was placed in charge of captain Maitland of the *Queen*, while the *Foudroyant* proceeded in the chase. Captain Maitland, having taken 300 prisoners out of her, sent one of his lieutenants on board to guard the rest; when a French ship of war hove in sight, which turned out to be the *Actionnaire*, armed *en flute*. A chase of fourteen hours brought him up with the enemy, who struck after the first broadside: the other pursuers were also successful, and captured twelve ships of the convoy, with stores, and about 1000 soldiers. After this successful cruise, the British squadron returned to port in consequence of very boisterous weather; and captain Jervis was invested with the order of the Bath, the precursor of a more splendid reward bestowed on him for services on a wider field. Admiral Kempenfeldt, with nine sail of the line, took the station

which Barrington had quitted ; while lord Howe, with a squadron of twelve sail, terrified the Dutch into a relinquishment of their designs on the Baltic trade of Great Britain.

In the mean time, de Guichen had formed a junction with the Spanish fleet at Cadiz ; and the united armament, after having captured eighteen vessels of our outward-bound Quebec and Newfoundland fleets, now occupied the chops of the channel : great apprehensions were entertained for the Jamaica fleet ; but all the attempts of the enemy were baffled by the dexterity and skill of lord Howe with a very inferior force, without the necessity of an engagement. The combined squadrons neither intercepted our trade, nor effected a junction with the Dutch ; and finding that no advantage could be derived from remaining in the channel, they retired from our coasts.

But what the enemy was unable to effect in the destruction of our marine, the violence of the elements in part accomplished. One of the most terrible catastrophes that ever befell a fleet was incurred by that under admiral Graves, which sailed this summer, with the great prizes taken by Rodney and Hood, to convoy the homeward-bound trade from the West Indies. All the trophies of those great men, except the *Ardent*, which put back to Port Royal, perished in the storm ; two British line of battle ships foundered, with a great number of merchantmen ; and the number of lives lost exceeded 3000. The *Ville de Paris* was commanded by captain Wilkinson, a most experienced seaman, who had made twenty-four voyages to and from the West Indies, and had therefore been pitched on to lead the fleet through the gulf ; but she was buried in the ocean with all on board, amounting to 800 souls : the crew of the *Ramillies*, consisting of more than 600 men, were saved from perishing with the ship, by the noble and intrepid conduct of admiral Graves. The horror of these calamities was aggravated by a melancholy accident at Portsmouth, which excited a deep concern throughout the nation. Lord Howe, returning from his well-conducted cruise, anxiously urged the equipment of a squadron for the relief of Gibraltar ; and the *Royal George*, of 100 guns, the finest ship in our navy, being destined for this service, was inclined on her side to undergo a slight species of careening, without the trouble or delay of going into dock : the ship was at this time crowded with people from the shore, among whom were about 300 unfortunate women ; and the crew itself amounted to 900 : the carpenters had inclined the ship a little more than was in-

tended ; when, about ten o'clock in the morning of the twenty-ninth of August, a sudden squall threw her on her side ; and the gun ports being open, she instantly filled with water, and went to the bottom. The brave admiral Kempenfeldt was writing in his cabin at the moment of the catastrophe ; and was thus suddenly buried in the ocean, with near 1000 sailors, women, and children. A victualler which lay near was swallowed in the vortex made by the submersion of this immense body ; and it was some time before any small craft could be employed to assist the few that survived so great a calamity.

In the mean time, the siege of Gibraltar, and the resolute defence made by its brave garrison, attracted the attention of all Europe : the duke de Crillon, the conqueror of Minorca, was appointed to conduct the operations by land ; Don Juan de Moreno commanded the fleet ; and it was resolved to employ the whole strength of the Spanish monarchy in seconding their efforts. From the failure of all plans hitherto attempted for the reduction of this rock, recourse was had to new projects, more especially to one formed by the chevalier d'Arçon, for the employment of floating batteries constructed so as to be impervious to shot, and indestructible by fire : with this view, their bottoms were made of massive timber, and their sides of wood and cork long soaked in water ; with a thick layer of wet sand between them, and raw hides on the outside. To prevent the effect of red-hot balls, a number of pipes were laid to convey water through every part, and pumps were provided to keep these constantly supplied : the people on board were sheltered from the fall of shells by a cover of rope netting, in a slanting position, and overlaid with wet hides. Ten of these floating castles, carrying from ten to twenty-eight guns each, and designed to lie moored within half gun-shot of the walls, were seconded by eighty large boats full of troops, and mounted with cannon of the largest calibre ; as well as by a multitude of frigates, ships of various force, and some hundreds of small craft.

General Elliot, the intrepid defender of the fortress, though aware that inventions of a peculiar nature were prepared against him, was yet ignorant of their mode of construction ; nevertheless, he provided against every circumstance of danger that could be foreseen or imagined ; and the confidence of his garrison rose in proportion to his vigilance and alacrity. The thirteenth of September was selected for the grand attack ; when the newly-invented machines, with all the powers of

engineering skill, were to be called into action. The combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to forty-seven sail of the line, ten invincible battering ships carrying 212 guns, numerous frigates, xebèques, bomb-ketches, gun-boats, and various other craft, were assembled in the bay of Gibraltar; while on the isthmus were stupendous works mounting 200 pieces of heavy ordnance, and protected by 40,000 troops; the numbers employed by land and sea against the fortress being estimated at near 100,000 men. With such a force, it was intended to make one simultaneous attack on every part of the British works: in the mean time, the surrounding heights were covered with people, as if all Spain was anxious to behold this tremendous but magnificent spectacle. At length, the signal was given; and showers of shot and shells from the land batteries and ships of the besiegers, and from the various works of the garrison, exhibited an awful scene: four hundred pieces of the heaviest artillery were playing at the same moment on the garrison; and the fire was returned by incessant showers of red-hot balls and shells from the rock; so that the whole peninsula was involved in one terrific blaze. The floating batteries appeared at first to answer the expectations of their inventors; for the heaviest shells rebounded from their tops, while thirty-two pound shot made no visible impression on their hulls. For some hours the attack and defence were equally supported; and the battering ships seemed to bid defiance to the combined force of fire and shot: in the evening, however, the effects of the red-hot balls became visible: at first there was only an appearance of smoke; but in the course of the night, two of the floating batteries burst into flames, and several more were visibly beginning to kindle; while the light of the conflagration enabled the garrison to direct their guns with unerring aim. The efforts of the besiegers were now exclusively directed to bring off the crews; but in this they were interrupted by captain Curtis, with twelve gun-boats, who advanced and opened a raking fire on the whole line of batteries, so as to throw them into inextricable confusion: at four o'clock, six more of the floating batteries were enveloped in flames, and all hope of assisting their sailors was abandoned by the enemy. The break of day disclosed a dreadful spectacle: hundreds were seen in the midst of the flames calling out for help; others were floating on pieces of timber, exposed to equal danger from the opposite element; while the most lamentable cries and agonising groans were heard on all sides. Then it was that the generous humanity

of the victors was found to equal their valor; and this was the more honorable, as the exertion of it subjected them to the most imminent peril. In his zealous endeavors to save the lives of his enemies, captain Curtis nearly lost his own; for while he lay alongside the floating batteries for this benevolent purpose, one of them blew up; and some heavy pieces of timber falling into his boat, pierced through its bottom. By such noble exertions near 400 souls were saved from destruction: in the end, all the floating batteries were consumed; and the Spanish loss, exclusive of that sustained by the troops on the isthmus, was computed at 1500 men; while that of the garrison did not amount to more than three officers and thirteen privates killed, with five officers and sixty-three privates wounded.

In the mean time, lord Howe, with thirty-four sail of the line, arrived off Cape St. Vincent on the ninth of October; on the eleventh, he passed the straits, where the combined fleets, to the number of sixty-four sail, of which forty-two were of the line, had for some time been stationed to intercept him; but a violent hurricane drove them on the Barbary coast, and prevented the possibility of attack. After throwing succors into the fortress, he set sail again for England; and the enemy coming up with him off Cape St. Vincent on the twentieth of October, he lay to in order to receive them; but after exchanging a distant and ineffectual cannonade, he continued his voyage without farther molestation. Thus perished the hopes of Spain to recover a barren rock, the value of which is above all price, and which still remains one of the brightest jewels that adorn the British crown. General Elliot, for his heroic defence, received the order of the Bath; and was raised to the peerage by the title of baron Heathfield, with a pension similar to that bestowed on Rodney.

This was the last action of importance in Europe during the war; and thus the military career of Great Britain, after repeated misfortunes, terminated with such splendor as to favor the prospect of a general pacification. The policy indeed of sheathing the sword was universally admitted; for each nation found, by a review of past events, that though their losses were great, their gains weighed little in the opposite scale: Great Britain, in particular, had in this war increased her national debt by more than £130,000,000 sterling, and wasted the lives of at least 50,000 of her subjects; and, as if to increase her mortification, she afterwards discovered that she had been fighting for advantages very problematical, even if success had

been attainable. The empress of Russia and the emperor of Germany still mediated between the belligerent powers; but the disposition of Great Britain to recognise the independence of the colonies removed the grand obstacle that stood in the way of peace.

On the resignation of Mr. Fox and his friends, Mr. Grenville quitted Paris, and Mr. Fitzherbert was appointed by the new cabinet minister plenipotentiary on the part of Great Britain: the French ministry, however, continued for some time temporising and mysterious; endeavoring by secret agency to excite the pride and resentment of the imperial court against this country, on account of the supposed contempt previously shown for their mediation; but when its projects against our Indian possessions failed, and the empress of Russia, whose ambition lay apart from the scene of these quarrels, was conciliated; France began to conduct the negociation with more sincerity; and after the failure at Gibraltar, exerted herself in persuading Spain to relinquish all hope of obtaining that fortress by treaty: as yet, however, a cautious secrecy on the subject was observed: the first authentic notice of it was in a letter from the secretary of state to the lord mayor; and to prevent any injurious speculations in the funds, it was merely declared that the negociation promised a decisive conclusion, either for peace or war; on which account parliament would be prorogued from the twenty-sixth of November to the fifth of December.

Even at this period, says Mr. Adolphus,³ ministers could not form a determinate opinion on the final events: the treaty with France was most advanced; but that crafty power held the ultimate decision in her own hands: if really disposed to make peace, she could influence Spain and Holland; if otherwise, she could throw on them the blame of continuing hostilities: Mr. Fitzherbert, however, succeeded, by his ability and judgment, in obtaining from the American commissioners the signature of provisional articles. This great stroke of policy would naturally incline France to relinquish a contest, in which success became more uncertain, while the expenses were enormous.

Lord Shelburne had weathered the storm through the last session of parliament; but in England no minister can long stand against public opinion. After a consultation with his colleagues, and a fair calculation of the assistance he might ex-

³ From correspondence and private information, vol. iii. p. 461.

pect, it was thought advisable to procure some additional support in the house of commons: Mr. Pitt, on this occasion, exhibited an instance of manly sincerity, which formed a strong contrast with Mr. Fox's versatility, by giving his decided negative to a union with lord North: he declared that he could not, from a sense of duty, enter into any political connexion with a man, whose administration had brought so much disgrace and calamity on the country, and whose principles he had so repeatedly condemned: this determination arose from no personal dislike to lord North; but from a conviction that a change from that system, which had been so long pursued, was necessary to rescue the kingdom from its dangers.

It was then determined to apply to Mr. Fox, against whom the same objections did not lie: Mr. Pitt, accordingly, waited on him by appointment; and the interview was marked by a few strong traits of character in the personages concerned. Fox asked, at once, whether it was proposed, in the present negociation, that lord Shelburne should remain premier; to which Pitt immediately answered in the affirmative: Fox then warmly asserted that he never would belong to any administration, of which the earl of Shelburne was to be the head; and Pitt, with equal promptitude, replied, 'that all farther discussion would be useless, for he did not come to betray lord Shelburne.' This, according to Mr. Pitt's biographer, was the last time these illustrious men were in the same private room together:⁴ they had now drawn the sword, and neither of them sheathed it to the latest period of their lives.

When parliament met on the fifth of December, his majesty, in a long speech, informed both houses that provisional articles had been adjusted with the American states, whose independence, with a reluctance which nothing but the wishes of his people could subdue, he had engaged to acknowledge in the definitive treaty. Among other topics, he alluded to the valiant exertions of the army and navy, the economical reforms which would be necessary, and the attention required by the concerns of Ireland and India. No direct opposition was made to the address; but Mr. Fox was inclined to recognise the independence of America at once, and not reserve it as one of the conditions of peace: lord Shelburne, he said, had fully, though reluctantly, agreed in this principle; but afterwards swerving from it, had occasioned a division in the cabinet. Lord North dissented from Mr. Fox's opinion on this point; nor did he

⁴ Dr. Tomline's Life of Pitt, vol. i. p. 89.

think the country so reduced as to be obliged to accept such terms of peace as its enemies might wish to impose on it. Mr. Burke detected in the speech a dangerous mode of delusion, unmeaning professions, and an undeserved self-commendation; but he was ready to join in thanking his majesty for concluding provisional articles of pacification. In the upper house there was no division; but lord Stormont vehemently opposed the irrevocable concession of independence to American commissioners acting under the control of France. Lord Shelburne denied the existence of such control, as well as the unqualified and unconditional offer of independence: if France did not consent to put an end to the contest, that independence would not be recognised. This explanation occasioned many severe remarks in the lower house, when the address was reported: duplicity, hypocrisy, and discordancy of opinion were freely imputed to ministers; but no division took place till the eighteenth of December, when Mr. Fox moved for copies of such parts of the provisional treaty as concerned the recognition of American independence, assigning for his motive the diversity of language used by ministers. Mr. Thomas Pitt moved for the order of the day, being supported by lord North; and the immense majority by which this motion was carried, showed the weakness of the other party in opposition.⁵ On the twenty-third of December, parliament adjourned for the Christmas recess.

During this interval, the preliminary treaties of peace were executed by France and Spain. The American colonies, by their treaty, secured independence in its fullest extent, with advantageous boundaries, comprehending the countries on both sides of the Ohio, and on the east of the Mississippi: they received liberty also of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland; and the navigation of the Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, was rendered free to both parties. By the treaty with France, the right of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland was ceded to that nation, from Cape St. John on the east, round the north of the island, to Cape Ray on the west: the French were also put into possession of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, Tobago and St. Lucie. In Africa, the river Senegal, with its forts and dependencies, was ceded, and the island of Goree restored: in the East Indies, England gave up all her conquests, and allowed to France her accustomed commerce, whether by a company or by individuals: the articles

⁵ 219 against 46.

also relative to the port of Dunkirk, established at the peace of Utrecht, were now abrogated. France, on her part, restored to Great Britain the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat : in Africa, she also ceded the possession of fort James and the river Gambia. In her treaty with Spain, Great Britain gave up the island of Minorca and East Florida, but regained Providence and the Bahama islands : his catholic majesty also retained West Florida, but guarantied to English subjects the right of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras. Holland also agreed to a cessation of hostilities ; but the terms of pacification were not yet arranged.

Although the public mind was wholly occupied with the preliminaries of peace, another object claimed attention from the legislature. The declaratory act of George I, regarding the legislative superiority of the British parliament, had been repealed agreeably to Mr. Grattan's requisition ; but the Irish were instigated to demand farther concessions. Mr. Flood, a contemporary orator of great ability, contended that a simple repeal merely withdrew an offensive declaration, without renouncing the principle ; and that it was necessary, for the security of the rights of Ireland, that Great Britain should formally renounce her claim asserted by that act. As Mr. Grattan resisted this proposal, because it was not only unnecessary, but offensive to Great Britain, a long and bitter altercation ensued between these distinguished men ; but Mr. Flood was supported by the test of popularity, while a torrent of public odium fell on the man who had been lately denominated the savior of his country. Lord Temple, the new viceroy of Ireland, thinking it right that this question should be decided, rather than left to agitate the national mind, recommended to ministers a bill of renunciation : accordingly, on the twenty-second of January, the first day of transacting business after the recess, Mr. Townshend moved for leave to bring in a bill for removing all doubts concerning the legislative rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland, and preventing the adjudication of any writ of error or appeal from that kingdom in the courts of Great Britain. The debates in its different stages were animated, and involved a discussion, whether treason committed in Ireland could be tried in Great Britain, under the statute of Henry VIII. : the prevailing opinion was in favor of the affirmative, that law having been confirmed by an Irish statute. The bill at length passed both houses without a division ; and before its arrival in the upper

house, Mr. Townshend had acquired a right of supporting it there under the title of lord Sidney. No position could be more fraught with difficulties, than was that of ministers at this time in parliament. Arrayed against them was the party of lord North, experienced in public business, powerful by its long possession of place, and extending its influence in various ramifications throughout every department; while the failure of the negociation with Fox had created a still more serious obstacle to their plans; for it constituted, as their antagonist, the most powerful debater in the British senate. An acute reasoner without the formality of argument, a subtile sophist under a disguise of the most simple candor, throwing all his feelings into his speech, and seizing on the popular sympathies by appeals of the most natural sensibility; Fox possessed all the qualities calculated to make an impression on a mixed multitude; and in the house of commons he was at this time irresistible.

Against so mighty an antagonist, armed with the most specious topics, and supported in the house by the personal resentments of its most influential members, Pitt had to fight the battles of a cabinet, which, as soon as it took office, became loaded with unpopularity: his cause appeared almost hopeless; when one of those singular and instructive events occurred, which was to change the whole aspect of political affairs; and, by casting an indelible stain on the character of his rival, to raise that of the youthful minister still higher in the scale of honor: this was the celebrated coalition between Fox and lord North. The determined resolution shown by the cabinet against these two statesmen, excited on their part a determination to take it by storm, be the means what they might; and it was proposed that the two parties should coalesce. A negociation was set on foot at the instigation of Mr. Eden;⁶ the honorable Mr. North conducting it for his father, and colonel Fitzpatrick for Mr. Fox: the business was hastily despatched, for the affairs were pressing; the debate on the peace being fixed for the seventeenth: it was not till nearly four in the morning of the sixteenth, that, after numerous messages, that alliance was concluded, which was destined first to overthrow its opponents, and afterwards to ruin those by whom it was cemented: the public, being generally ignorant of the circumstances under which this union took place, were left open to surmises and conjectures of every kind.

⁶ Afterwards lord Auckland.

On the day appointed for discussing the provisional treaty, lord Pembroke in the house of lords moved an address of thanks and approbation, and was seconded by the marquis of Carmarthen: an amendment was proposed by lord Carlisle; who, as well as lords Walsingham, Sackville, Stormont, and Loughborough, reprobated in eloquent speeches the preliminaries of peace, which they considered highly injurious to the interests of the nation. The dereliction of the American loyalists, and of our allies among the Indians, was declared to be a baseness unexampled in history: no degree of distress should have induced us to subscribe to terms so disgraceful, or to yield up so many important possessions in all quarters of the world, restore so many inlets to the commerce of our enemies, and cede such large privileges in our fisheries. The permission given to France of fortifying Dunkirk, was made an object of peculiar animadversion, as likely to be most injurious to our trade in the event of another war: and all these sacrifices, it was said, were made on the score of reciprocal advantages.

The minister ably defended himself against these attacks; declaring that peace was an object for which the nation at large had manifested the most unequivocal desire: the great end he had in view was the benefit of his country; and this he was certain he had secured. The vast uncultivated tract of land south of the lakes was of infinite consequence to America, and of none to England: the retention of it, or even of the forts which commanded it, could only have laid the foundation of future hostility. If our liberality to Ireland was the subject of just applause, why act on principles of illiberality towards America? The refusal of the Newfoundland fishery would have been a direct manifestation of hostile intentions; and as it lay on their coasts, it was in reality impossible to exclude them from it by any restrictions: it is an advantage which nature has granted to them; and the attempt to wrest it from their hands would not only be unjust, but impracticable. Of one objection his lordship acknowledged that he deeply felt the force: his regret and compassion for the situation of the unhappy loyalists were as pungent as those of their warmest advocates. This objection admitted but of one answer, which he had given to his own bleeding heart,—‘It is better that a part should suffer than that the whole empire perish.’ He would have dashed from him the bitter cup which the adversities of his country held out to him, if peace had not been absolutely necessary; if it had not been called for with

unanimity and vigor that could not be resisted. No arts of address or negotiation had been neglected; but the American commissioners had no power to concede more: congress itself had not the power; for by the constitution of America every state was supreme, including in itself the legislative and judicial powers: its jurisdiction, therefore, was not liable to control. In one mode of interposition, by recommendation alone, could congress act. If, after all, the loyalists should not be received into the bosom of their native country, Great Britain, penetrated with gratitude for their services, and warm with feelings of humanity, would afford them an asylum: and it would doubtless be wiser to indemnify them for their losses, than to ruin the nation by renewing or prolonging the calamities of war. The cession of East Florida, said his lordship, was rendered unavoidable, by the mistaken and ruinous policy of ministers, who had brought the nation to the necessity of treating with its enemies on terms very different from those which it could formerly have commanded: this province, however, detached from West Florida, already conquered by the arms of Spain, was of little value; and the amount of its imports and exports bore no proportion to the expense of its civil establishment: we had, nevertheless, obtained a compensation in the restitution of the Bahamas. Although the bounds of the French fishery were somewhat enlarged, by far the most eligible parts of the Newfoundland coast were left in possession of the English; and a source of future contention was removed by an exact delineation of boundaries. In exchange for St. Lucie, France had restored six of the seven islands she had taken; and had only retained Tobago. Senegal and Goree had been originally French settlements, but their commerce was inconsiderable; and the whole African trade was open to the English, through our settlements on the Gambia, which were guarantied to us by this treaty. The restoration of Pondicherry, and our other conquests in the east, must be acknowledged not a measure of expediency, so much as of absolute necessity, if the state of the East India company were adverted to: such had been the formidable confederacy with which they were compelled to contend; such the wretched derangement of their finances; and so exposed to hazard were their vast and precarious possessions; that nothing but peace could recover to them their ascendancy in Asia: under such circumstances, it was impossible to procure terms of accommodation more honorable. The removal of the restraints relative to the harbor of Dunkirk,—restraints disgraceful to

France, and of trifling advantage to England, was inveighed against without candor or reason: Dunkirk, as a port, was far from possessing the consequence ascribed to it; lying near a shoaly part of the channel, it cannot receive ships of a large size, and can never become a rendezvous for squadrons; it may indeed be a resort for privateers, but these we know by experience could easily issue from other ports. In fine, the confederacy formed against us was decidedly superior to our utmost exertions: our taxes were exorbitant; our debts, funded and unfunded, amounted to £247,000,000 sterling; our commerce was rapidly declining; our navy was overbalanced by the fleets of the combined powers, in the alarming superiority of more than fifty ships of the line. Peace then was necessary to our existence as a nation: the best terms of accommodation which our situation would admit, had been procured; and his lordship ventured to affirm, that they could be decried or opposed only by ignorance, prejudice, or faction. On a division, the address was carried by a majority of seventy-two to fifty-nine.

In the house of commons, ministers were less successful. To the address, moved by Mr. Thomas Pitt, and seconded by Mr. Wilberforce, an amendment was proposed by lord John Cavendish, and seconded by Mr. St. John. The rumor of the coalition had gained ground during the day, and the house was unusually crowded: several members spoke in favor of the address; among whom Mr. Powys and Mr. Dundas both defended the treaties, and contended that ministers had done all in their power for the American loyalists: both also adverted to the coalition; the former gentleman declaring 'that the present era was remarkable for strange confederacies: great and arbitrary despots stood forth as the protectors of an infant republic; and in that house, lofty and strenuous assertors of high prerogative had combined with the humble worshippers of the majesty of the people: the most determined advocate of crown influence was seen hand in hand with the great purifier of the constitution.' Mr. Sheridan adverted to these reflections in a speech replete with sarcasm; and pointed out quite as extraordinary a coalition as that of lord North and Mr. Fox; between the lord advocate, that zealous supporter of regal prerogative; and Mr. William Pitt, the most popular leader in the cause of parliamentary reform.

Mr. Fox, when he rose to explain his conduct, strongly attracted the attention of the house: he spoke with his accustomed energy, and with more than his usual daring: boldly

avowing the coalition, he derided the idea of eternal enmity in politics. The American war had been the sole cause of his disagreement with the noble lord; which cause being now removed, it was surely wise to terminate the ill will which it had occasioned. 'When I was the friend of lord North,' he continued, 'I found him open and sincere; when the enemy, honorable and manly: he never practised those paltry subterfuges, stratagems, and manœuvres, which destroy confidence, while they degrade the statesman and the man: it is not in my nature to bear malice, or live in ill-will: my friendships are perpetual, my enmities are not so: *amicitiæ sempiternæ, inimicitiae placabiles.*'

Lord North had come down to the house late in the evening; and being oppressed with age, heaviness of frame, and the fatigues of the preceding night, he retired into the members' gallery, and gave way to slumber; desiring some of his friends to rouse him if any thing of importance should occur. When he awoke, he obtained from those around him a sketch of the speeches that had been made; and then proceeding into the body of the house, he seated himself beside Mr. Fox. While all were gazing on this unusual position, he arose; and to the astonishment of those who had seen him sleeping through the debate, he reviewed it all with incomparable skill; kept the house in perpetual laughter by his wit; and after the most dexterous and animated speech of the night, carried his amendment by a majority of sixteen in a house of 432 members.

This defeat of ministry was considered as a prelude to their dissolution; for it was evident that opposition would follow up their triumph. The subject was accordingly brought before the house again by lord John Cavendish on the twenty-first of February. His lordship expressed concern that the majority for the amendment had been represented as voting against the peace: he was therefore desirous of convincing the nation, and the powers with whom we were treating, that our resolution was fixed against a renewal of the war: nevertheless, he highly reprobated the terms on which peace had been obtained, and read the following motions:—1. 'That in consideration of the public faith, which ought to be preserved inviolable, his faithful commons will support his majesty in rendering firm and permanent the peace to be concluded definitively, in consequence of the provisional treaty and the preliminary articles. 2. That in concurrence with his majesty's paternal regard for his people, they will employ their

best endeavors to improve the blessings of peace. 3. That his majesty, in acknowledging the independence of the United States of America, has acted as the circumstances of affairs indisputably required, and in conformity with the sense of parliament. 4. That the concessions made to the adversaries of Great Britain are greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual situation of their respective possessions, or from their comparative strength: and, 5. That they will take the case of the loyalists into consideration, and administer such relief as their conduct and necessity may be found to merit.' The first two of these resolutions were agreed to without opposition: on the third, a short debate took place, occasioned by doubts arising in the minds of several members, respecting the power vested in the king to acknowledge the independency of the United States; which, it was unanimously agreed by the gentlemen of the long robe, his majesty had full authority to do, in consequence of the statute passed last year, enabling him to make peace with America. The last resolution lord John Cavendish consented to wave; but on the fourth, which conveyed so pointed a censure against the administration, a very animated debate took place, in which Mr. Pitt greatly distinguished himself. He examined at considerable length the grounds of the treaty, and defended the policy of ministers with admirable perspicuity and force of argument, attributing all that was perplexing in the negociations to the errors of lord North. With respect to the preliminaries, he observed; 'these are the conditions to which this country, engaged with four powerful states, has thought fit to subscribe for the dissolution of that confederacy, and the immediate enjoyment of peace. Let us look to what is left with a manly courage: let us strengthen ourselves against inveterate enemies, and reconcile ancient friends: the misfortunes of kingdoms, as well as of individuals, which are laid open and examined with true wisdom, are already more than half redressed; and to this great object should be directed all the virtue and abilities of this house.' He then directed some severe sarcasms at Fox:—'The honorable gentleman,' said he, 'has virtually declared, that because he was prevented from prosecuting the noble lord to the satisfaction of public justice, he will heartily embrace him as his friend: so readily does he reconcile extremes, and love the man whom he was ready to impeach: in the same spirit, I suppose, he will cherish the peace because he abhors it.'

With regard to his own share in the censures pointed against ministers by the present motion, he observed,—‘I shall bear it with fortitude, because my heart tells me I have not acted wrongly: to this monitor, which never did, and, I trust, never will deceive me, I shall confidently repair, as to an adequate asylum from all the clamors of interested faction.’ He proceeded in a strain of eloquence scarcely to be surpassed in ancient or modern times: the house was wrapped in one feeling of admiration; but the coalition prevailed, and this night decided the fate of lord Shelburne: he was left in a minority of seventeen in a house of 397.

The success of the opposition rendering a change certain, the house of commons adjourned from time to time, with the view of forwarding a new arrangement: from these ineffectual endeavors to accommodate party views, the business of the nation was suspended; and more than a month passed in a kind of ministerial interregnum, while an able administration was never more necessary.

The disembodiment of the militia, and the discharge of seamen and soldiers without pay, spread tumult throughout the kingdom: the treaty with France and Spain was not concluded; no commercial alliance was adjusted with America; and the affairs of the East India company demanded immediate attention.

Such was the state of public matters, when Mr. Coke, one of the members for Norfolk, moved, on the twenty-fourth of March, an address to the king, ‘that he would be graciously pleased to take into consideration the unsettled state of the empire, and condescend to comply with the wishes of this house, in forming an administration entitled to the confidence of his people.’ This address was unanimously carried, and presented to the king by such members as had the rank of privy counsellors. The reply of his majesty stated, ‘that his earnest desire was to do every thing in his power in compliance with the wishes of his faithful commons.’ This answer, however, not being deemed sufficiently explicit, lord Surrey soon afterwards moved another address, in strong and pointed terms, ‘assuring his majesty that all delays in a matter of such moment have an inevitable tendency to weaken the authority of government; and most humbly entreating his majesty, that he will take such measures towards this object, as may quiet the apprehensions of his faithful subjects.’ An acrimonious debate ensued, in which Mr. Dundas intimated that the chancellor of the exchequer, having that day resigned

his situation, no farther difficulties would arise. Mr. Pitt had always declared that he only retained his office till a successor could be nominated ; and it would not have been repugnant to the wishes of any party that he should have retained it permanently, if other consistent appointments could have been arranged. After this explanation, lord Surrey withdrew his motion, and ministers gave way to their victorious antagonists.

The delay which had been so much complained of arose from the king's great embarrassment. Revolting from the name of Fox, who had loaded him with insult ; and annoyed by lord North's desertion of him in the hour of danger, he offered the government to lord Gower ; but that nobleman confessed that he had not the means of diminishing the hostile majority : the duke of Portland and lord North were then sent for ; but a proposal that lord Thurlow should keep the great seal broke off this negociation, as he was considered not only intractable in the cabinet, but a spy of St. James's. His majesty then applied to Mr. Pitt to relieve him from his anxiety, offering him full powers to nominate his colleagues : Mr. Pitt's friends advised a compliance with the royal wish ; and for twenty-four hours, during which Mr. Dundas had procured an adjournment of the house, he paused : but the formidable majority was still before him ; his sagacity foresaw, that if his opponents accepted office, they would soon split into divisions ; while his throwing down the gauntlet to them when flushed with victory would tend only to cement their union : he therefore declined the honors so graciously offered. The king, still averse to Fox, then sent for lord North ; but he was bound not to stir without his brother coalitionist : on this, Fox was reluctantly admitted into the negociation, and the duke of Portland was proposed for the treasury ; but this arrangement was broken off by the demand of the junto to have the appointment of the whole household. His majesty again had recourse to Mr. Pitt for assistance, and wrote to him from Windsor, in the most pressing terms, to urge his compliance ; but in vain : his maturer judgment still forbade his acceptance of the honors thrust on him ; and in a firm but dutiful manner he declined them, however flattering to his young ambition. The king's situation now became almost intolerable ; and it is said, that in despair he meditated a retreat to Hanover ; but from that hazardous experiment he was deterred by the advice of lord Thurlow. ' Your majesty,' said he, roughly, but honestly, ' may go to your electoral dominions ; nothing is more easy : but you may not find it so easy to return, when your majesty becomes tired

of staying there: James II. did the same; but you must not follow his example.' The chancellor made this advice palatable, by assuring the king that he would not be long troubled with the coalition; for they could not come into power without soon committing some act which would expose them to crimination; and a short period only was necessary to show the justness of this observation.

His majesty accordingly yielded to the force of circumstances, and in the beginning of April a new administration was announced to parliament. In its arrangement the duke of Portland was first lord of the treasury, and lord North and Mr. Fox secretaries of state, the former for the home, the latter for the foreign department: lord John Cavendish was re-appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and lord Keppel first lord of the admiralty: lord Stormont was created president of the council, and the earl of Carlisle lord privy seal: the great seal was put into commission; lord chief justice Loughborough, so distinguished for his political versatility, being declared first commissioner, and lord Mansfield appointed speaker of the house of lords. The government of Ireland was given to lord Northington; and Mr. Burke was reinstated as paymaster of the forces. Of the seven cabinet ministers, the majority, who also occupied the most important posts, were of the old whig or Rockingham party; lord Stormont, lord North, and lord Carlisle contenting themselves rather with a participation of honors and emoluments, than of power: Notwithstanding, therefore, the admission of these tory lords into the ministry, it was still acknowledged, as to all grand purposes of government, a whig administration; more especially when the ability, vigor, and decision of its efficient leader were fairly estimated: but unfortunately a junction of persons, whose principles were radically hostile, operated to diminish public confidence in their measures, and unsettle all calculations with respect to their future movements: while therefore it obtained for them a victory, it deprived them of the more solid advantages of conquest. It might, indeed, shelter lord North from all future examination of his conduct in the American war; and serve the ambition of Mr. Fox, for a time, by giving him the immediate support of that nobleman's adherents; but it was an unnatural union; very different from that in 1757, by which the interests of the king and people were reconciled, and the good genius of Great Britain enabled to triumph at home and abroad. This was in fact a mere barter of opinions and interests between the partisans of

the people and the supporters of prerogative; and by confounding those badges of opinion on which the eyes of followers are fixed, and by which their confidence is kept alive, it disgusted all honorable men, and long shed a noxious influence over the political atmosphere.

Mr. Pitt's conduct in these trying circumstances was no less prudent and dignified, than it had been during the parliamentary conflict which subverted lord North's cabinet: even then he wasted none of his transcendent powers in rash and violent accusations, like Fox; nor did he indulge in excursions through the regions of imagination, like Burke: but he carried his attacks against the administration with a steady daring, and consummate judgment; nor did he fail to draw with great nicety a line between the sovereign and his responsible ministers. For almost six weeks after the retreat of lord Shelburne, the whole business of government had devolved on his shoulders; and he had transacted it in such a manner as constantly to increase the public admiration; so that it was said, 'while Pitt is in the house there is no want of a ministry.' He now thought, that to preserve his independence, and keep himself free from the contamination of an ambitious and intriguing coalition, was the wisest course; and the respect both of the king and of the people, which accompanied his retirement from office, ratified his judgment.

CHAP. XXVI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1783.

Re-establishment of commercial intercourse, &c. with America—Provision made for the American loyalists—Loan of £12,000,000—Outcry against it—Mr. Pitt's motion for reforming the treasury—Indian affairs brought before the house, and relief bill passed—Mr. Pitt's bill for a reform of parliament—Rejected—Other popular measures of Mr. Pitt—Petition of the quakers against the slave trade—Settlement on the prince of Wales—Prorogation of parliament—Execution of treaties, &c.—Effects of American war—State of foreign nations—Mr. Adams arrives as envoy from the United States—His interview with the king—Affairs of America—Evils consequent on the reduction of the army—Services of Washington—He bids adieu to his officers—Resigns his command to congress—His subsequent good offices—Chosen president of the United States—Re-elected to that station—His final retreat from public affairs—English affairs—The king's disgust at the coalition ministry—Fox gives notice of his celebrated India bill—Meeting of parliament—King's speech—Introduction of Mr. Fox's bill—Debates on it—Rejected—Proceedings of parliament in consequence—Ministry dissolved by the king—Commencement of Mr. Pitt's administration.

ONE of the most important objects, the decision of which appeared to be suspended by the late ministerial interregnum, was the re-establishment of commercial dealings with America: bills were accordingly introduced for repealing the restraining act, and establishing a provisional intercourse with that country. The former passed without much difficulty: in discussing the other, some enlightened members gave opinions which rectified the judgment of the house on the value of American commerce, and inculcated a proper regard for the British navigation law, the trade of the West Indies, and commercial intercourse with Russia and other nations. Much ability was shown, in the course of these debates, by Mr. Eden and lord Sheffield; the latter of whom rendered essential service to the country through the press, by imparting accurate and copious information, as well as liberal and sure maxims, respecting general policy and colonial principles:⁷ finally, a temporary

⁷ Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 489.

bill passed, which became annual, abrogating the requisition of a manifesto, certificate, or other document from American ships, arriving at any British port, or clearing out there for any port in the United States; also vesting in his majesty the power of regulating all commercial proceedings. In the course of the summer, an order in council was issued, limiting the commerce between America and the West Indian islands to ships British built: this was conformable to the great principle of the navigation act: and though it gave offence to the Americans, they could not with reason complain that they were precluded from the advantages of dependence and independence at the same time.

Another subject which claimed attention was the case of the American loyalists; and parliament was told in the course of the session that they would be obliged to quit their country for ever, in order to avoid the resentment of the enraged republicans. Congress, indeed, literally fulfilled the terms of the provisional articles in their behalf; but the recommendation was so cold and formal, as to be utterly disregarded in the states; and the care of providing for these destitute and unfortunate persons devolved on the mother country: accordingly, an act was passed, appointing commissioners to inquire into their claims. The grounds of remuneration were losses of real or personal property, and of income arising from office, profession, or trade: the amount of the first species of claims exceeded £10,000,000 sterling, from which certain small deductions were made; and the liquidations took place by instalments, interest being allowed on the capital: the second list of claimants demanded £150,000 per annum; of which £120,000 were allowed, and vested in life annuities.

The new ministry were obliged, by the peculiar exigences of the times, to negotiate a loan of £12,000,000 for the service of the year, and to provide ways and means for paying the interest with unusual despatch: the terms, however, were arraigned with great severity; and it was shown, that the abuses which had been so loudly charged on lord North's administration, were still adopted by his successors. The principal part of this loan was privately taken by eleven bankers; the remainder was distributed among the monied men and private friends: but the negotiation no sooner transpired, than it raised a violent outcry. Pitt headed the opposition to it in the house of commons, and demonstrated that the holders of the loan had no less a bonus than six per cent; which actually rose to eight per cent, before the bargain was completed: he very justly

complained of the absence of competition ; and lord Shelburne, in the house of lords, showed that the national loss amounted to the sum of £650,000. The public want of confidence in ministers was unequivocally marked by a general fall in the funds : the three per cent. consols, which, when the administration came into office, were at seventy, declined in December to fifty-six ; a fall, totally unprecedented in times of peace and tranquillity.

An act for imposing a small stamp-duty on receipts for money was rendered a means of exciting loud but unjust clamors ; and a bill for making some economical reforms in the treasury offices, was carried by Mr. Pitt through the commons, but lost in the lords. In his speech on this subject, he gave a curious account of the extravagant abuses which had been disclosed. In the navy office it was denied that any fees were received ; but on investigation, it was found that *gifts* were allowed to be taken ; and one clerk, whose salary was £250 a year, received £2500 by those means : contracts were made, which gratified the government and the country by their apparently low terms ; but it was discovered, that the officers, appointed to see the execution of them, were in the pay of the contractors : but of all abuses, those connected with the furniture of public offices were the greatest ; there being evidence, that houses both in town and country were fitted up most extravagantly at the public expense : rooms were papered with the public stationery, the annual charge for which was £18,000 ; one item in it being £340 for whip-cord. It has been observed, that Mr. Pitt might have made statements on this subject still more ludicrous, and not less true :^s for a man of large fortune, and member of parliament, was publicly mentioned, who, on being made a lord of trade, gave an order for a superfluity of pewter ink-stands for his own use ; which, when they were brought, he exchanged with the dealer for a handsome one of silver : encouraged by this prosperous dexterity, he ordered green velvet enough to make a court dress, under pretence of bags for his official papers ; and it is said, that his correspondents could recognise in his letters the office paper, full ten years after the board of trade itself was no more. Mr. Pitt's bill, however, was rejected ; as also was one introduced by lord Mahon to prevent bribery and corruption at elections ; and alderman Sawbridge's annual motion for a reform in parliament met with its usual fate.

^s See Blackwood's Magazine, No. ccxxxiii. p. 482.

The very critical situation of our affairs in the East early engaged the attention of parliament. The house of commons had appointed a select committee to examine into the state of the British dominions in India; and in the prosecution of this important inquiry, it was discovered that the administration of justice in Bengal had been perverted to the base purposes of speculation, plunder, and oppression; while corruption, fraud, and injustice pervaded every department of the Indian government. Such discoveries produced a general union of opinion among public men, respecting the immediate necessity of taking some effectual step, to rescue the British name from disgrace, and secure our territorial possessions. To this representation of defects and abuses in the Indian government, succeeded a disclosure of the ruined state of the company's finances, by a bill which Sir Henry Fletcher introduced, 'for suspending the payments of the company now due to the exchequer, and enabling them to borrow the sum of £300,000 for their farther relief.' Lord John Cavendish declared this bill to be only a branch of a larger plan; and that it was brought forward separately, in order to answer an exigency which did not admit of delay.

In the upper house, lord Fitzwilliam dwelt on the desperate situation of the company, and affirmed, 'that unless the bill passed, their bankruptcy would be inevitable: their expenditure had far exceeded their revenue; bills had been drawn on them, which they could not answer without a temporary supply; so that their very existence depended on the success of the bill;' which accordingly passed both houses with little difficulty or opposition.

Mr. Pitt had not yet given up his patriotic schemes for reforming parliament: probably at this time he little supposed that he should live to be so strong an opponent of the measure which he now advocated; but allowance must be made for the difference of times and circumstances, as well as for the different situation of the advocate himself. A member of opposition who is aiming at political power, and a minister who is obliged to bribe the aristocracy of a kingdom, see things under a very different aspect; and a man, who would not hesitate to light a fagot in a foul chimney for the purpose of cleansing it; would refrain from doing so, if a barrel of gunpowder were in the way.

The former motion made by this gentleman, for an inquiry into the state of the representation, having been rejected, he brought forward, on the seventh of May, a specific plan, com-

prised in three resolutions: first, to adopt measures for preventing bribery and expense at elections; secondly, when the majority of voters in a borough should be convicted of corruption, to disfranchise the place, and allow to the uncorrupted minority votes for the county; thirdly, to add 100 members to the counties, and abolish a proportionate number of small obnoxious boroughs. The revival of this important subject, which had deeply agitated the public mind, produced an animated debate; in the course of which, the discordant sentiments of ministers did not fail to excite afresh the resentment of the house against the 'ill-starred coalition.' Lord North opposed the motion; and, in a strain of allusive pleasantry, declared, 'that while some, with Lear, demanded a hundred knights, and others, with Goneril, were content with fifty; he, with Regan, exclaimed, 'No not one.'

Fox, whose opinion on this great national question was totally at variance with that of his brother secretary, honorably preferred the consistency of public character to every other consideration. 'In his opinion, the constitution required innovation and renovation: its nature exposed it to change; and he thought that one of its chief excellences was its capability of renewed improvements: it might thus, he thought, be gradually carried to perfection.'

While this discussion exposed the absurdity of one coalition, it is remarkable that it paved the way for another almost as extraordinary. The lord advocate of Scotland, who had all along distinguished himself by his zeal for high prerogative, suspended on the present occasion his natural sentiments, became at once a convert to the doctrine of reform, and asserted his intire approbation of Mr. Pitt's resolutions. He stood up boldly as an advocate of the people; and affirmed, 'that a compliance with their wishes would be the happiest means of putting an end to their complaints, and would certainly impart a fresh infusion of pure blood to the constitution of the house of commons.' This unexpected support and patriotic effusion effected a cordial union between these two celebrated characters; but the resolutions were lost by a majority of 293 to 149.

Though ministers would not countenance Mr. Pitt's comprehensive plan of economy; yet, observing the popularity which he had acquired by his exertions, they thought something ought to be attempted by themselves: accordingly, at the end of June, lord John Cavendish carried a bill through the house for abolishing certain offices in the exchequer, and

limiting the salaries of others, after the death of the present possessors : he also, in consequence of a motion made five months before by Mr. Pitt, presented to the house a book, containing 'a list of accountants, who having received public money by way of imprest, and on account, had not yet given in the same ; also of those persons from whom balances of declared accounts were still due ;' by which it appeared that the sums unaccounted for amounted to upwards of £44,000,000 ! this induced Mr. Pitt to move an address to the king, requesting him to take effectual measures for the recovery of these immense sums, and to prevent in future similar delinquences : it was strongly objected to by persons in office, but at last suffered to pass with a few unimportant amendments. In this manner did the son of Chatham lay the foundation of that popularity, which enabled him to beat down the forces of the coalition, and to rescue his sovereign from that thralldom which so irritated his royal spirit.

A bill for regulating the trade of the African company being introduced toward the end of the session, with a clause prohibiting its officers from exporting negroes, that respectable body of people called quakers, embraced the opportunity of petitioning the house of commons, to extend the clause in question to all persons whatsoever, and rescue a nation professing the christian faith from such a temptation to counteract the principles of humanity and justice. This petition strongly excited the attention both of the house and of the public, and laid the foundation of those generous and persevering exertions, which have at length effected the abolition of a detestable traffic in human flesh.

The only remaining subject of parliamentary importance was a message from the king to both houses, requesting means for a separate establishment for the prince of Wales. In the debate which followed, on the twenty-fifth of June, lord John Cavendish informed the house, that his majesty had graciously determined to take on himself the annual expense, and allow the prince £50,000 a year out of the civil list ; but as his own revenues were barely sufficient, it could not excite surprise that he applied to parliament for aid to equip the heir apparent at his outset in life ; and his lordship concluded with moving, that the sum of £60,000 should be granted to his majesty for that purpose. In the course of debate, lord North was attacked for having endeavored to persuade the cabinet to propose a much larger sum ; and his majesty was complimented by some members for showing such regard to the peculiar distresses of

his people. As the coalition ministry included the most confidential friends of the prince, they wished to give him the same settlement, of £100,000 per annum, as some preceding princes of Wales had received: but the king was unwilling, at the close of a disastrous and expensive war, when economy was loudly called for, to increase the public burdens by so large a sum, which he imagined would only serve to gratify the rapacity of parasites, without adding to his son's personal dignity or comfort.

Though the argument was plausible, it was thought by many that this was an ill-judged parsimony, which, by placing the prince in a worse situation than that of former heirs apparent, would not only excite unpleasant feelings in the mind of his royal highness, as had been the case with his majesty's own father; but would probably subject him to many inconveniences and embarrassments; that it would therefore be more wise and economical to make at once so liberal a provision, as might wholly supersede the necessity of his incurring debts. On these grounds, the ministers would have increased the allowance; but the king is said to have rejected the proposal with such expressions of marked resentment, that the resignation of the cabinet was for a time not improbable: the prince himself gave a strong proof, at the moment, of filial duty and public spirit; signifying his desire that the business should be left wholly to the king, and his readiness to accept whatever provision his majesty's wisdom and goodness might think most fit: his earnest wish was, that no misunderstanding should arise between the sovereign and his ministers, from any arrangement in which his personal interest alone was concerned.

On the sixteenth of July, his majesty prorogued parliament, intimating his intention to call them together at an early period, in order to resume the consideration of East Indian affairs, which would demand their serious and unremitted attention: he also expressed regret that he could not announce the completion of the definitive treaties: very little difficulty, however, ensued on this score, except in the case of Holland, from whom Great Britain wished to gain some compensation for her losses: the courts of Vienna and Petersburg were admitted to mediate, more for the sake of compliment than necessity; for the compacts were arranged without their aid, though formally sanctioned by the attestation of their ministers. Holland, through the influence of France, acceded on the second of September to preliminaries of peace, by which all conquests on both sides were to be restored, except the

town of Negapatam in the East Indies, which was to remain in the possession of Great Britain : the definitive treaties with France, Spain, and America were executed on the following day ; and thus terminated a war which led to consequences more vast and important than any other in modern times. Not the least of these was the foundation of an empire on the other side of the Atlantic : an empire of Europeans not belonging to the European system ; independent in its own power and productions, and at the same time called on by its situation to take an active and large share in the general commerce of the world ; yet without the necessity of standing armies, and without the aid of cabinet policy !⁹ The anticipations of Great Britain in this contest were wholly frustrated : she met with constant and final defeat where she expected easy and early victory ; she added more than £100,000,000 to her debt by means that were intended to augment her revenue : but on the other hand, none of those gloomy forebodings, respecting the evils which would arise from a dismemberment of the empire, were verified. Every maritime power was anxious to form commercial treaties with the new states ; but these, being destitute of capital, naturally sought where the longest credit would be given : hence the commerce of England became far greater when free, than it had ever been when restricted : nor was its progress much less aided by the decline of the trade of Holland ; which, being once overthrown, never acquired sufficient strength to sustain the powerful competition of its rival. Thus the blows struck at the prosperity of England were quickly healed ; and the separation of her colonies was found to be only that of a branch from a tree, which soon recovered its loss in a statelier growth and deeper luxuriance. Her success in the contest could only have postponed an inevitable event, and prepared a future struggle when she was less able to sustain it : in a few years, the increase of the colonies would have rendered them a fatal appendage ; for the mere patronage of their offices would have set the minister above the constitution. Instead of a union of consent, the two countries might have seen for some time a union of corruption ; but the arrear of ill would have been to be paid ; and the connexion might have been severed by some dreadful explosion that would have reduced both to ruin. Besides, although England had lost her ancient colonial possessions, she still retained her new territories in Canada and Nova Scotia ; the value of which became

⁹ Heeren's European States-system, vol. ii. p. 98.

greater, as they became objects of greater care. Nor were these possessions of less importance to America than to England : as the acquisition of them had been the germ of colonial independence, so afterwards they discharged a new function in maintaining the confederacy of the United States, agreeably to the general law of political associations. The greatest evils arising from the contest fell where they were justly merited, on our enemies. The part taken in this war by the French monarchy involved it in those financial difficulties, and inflamed that republican spirit, which hastened its dissolution ; Spain, disappointed in every indemnification proposed to her, remained in a state of inert paralysis, a miserable appendage of France, reduced to depend for her chief support on the contributions of individuals ; while Holland soon discovered the truth of a prophecy by Van Beuning, her old patriotic supporter against the force of Louis XIV., that whenever she should forego her connexion with England, she might date from that day the loss of her political importance.¹⁰ All her colonies, taken by England, and recaptured by France, remained a deposit in the hands of that crafty power to ensure the obedience of its ally : thus plundered of her settlements, and without any compensation for the ruin of her commerce, she remained an unwilling witness of the increasing prosperity of Ostend ; which town had risen to importance through the numerous freedoms granted to its port by the emperor, who contrived to derive this advantage from his neutrality. Joseph indeed no longer pursued the system of resisting the encroachments made by great states on the political balance of Europe ; but had adopted the unworthy policy of combining with Russia to assail the weak, and to profit by spoliation. A joint attack on Turkey was meditated by these two powers ; and their eager desire to avoid offence in this pursuit occasioned a tacit renunciation of the new naval code : the principles of it were indeed mentioned by the mediators of the definitive treaty ; but Mr. Fitzherbert, admonished by Sir James Harris,¹¹ resisted the introduction of the system, and convinced the French minister that it was no less injurious to the interests of France than to those of England.

Soon after the definitive treaty with the United States was signed, the interesting spectacle was exhibited of an American envoy introduced at the court of St. James's. The manner in which his majesty addressed Mr. Adams, who came in this

¹⁰ Adolphus, vol. iii. p. 509.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 510.

character from his revolted colonies, afforded a lively illustration of that probity of intention, as well as of that invincible pertinacity, which so strongly characterised George III. 'As I was the last man in my kingdom,' he said, 'who assented to the recognition of American independence; so, now it is actually established, will I be the last man in my kingdom to violate it.'

With regard to America, she had much more to contend with than her deserted parent. England, protected by a constitution admirably adapted to the preservation of monarchical government and civil liberty, had need only to preserve that constitution inviolate, in order to repair all losses, and increase her greatness: but with America the case was very different; her prospect of peace and independence was dimmed by the abject poverty of the country, and by gloomy fears for the course which might be taken by the army, when its reduction was ordered: for a long time it had been supported by temporary expedients; and through the last year almost all the receipts of the treasury had been devoted to its subsistence: to pay the troops was impossible; yet the public faith had been pledged, not only to this, but to grant half-pay during life to the officers: that pledge had retained them in the field to the ruin of their private affairs; but it appeared more than probable, that when they should be disbanded, the funds for such purposes would never be supplied, since the requisite number of 'sovereign states' had not concurred in the measure.

As the negotiations for peace advanced, the irritation of the troops increased; and then commenced those civil services rendered by Washington to his country, which more than equalled the glories of his military career. That great man foresaw the gathering storm; and determined to remain with his army, and give the weight of his influence to preserve the tranquillity of the state.

In a private letter to the secretary of war, after expressing his conviction that the officers would return to private life with alacrity, could they be placed in suitable circumstances, he adds;—'When I see such a number of men, goaded by a thousand stings of reflection on the past, and anticipation of the future, about to be turned into the world, soured by penury, and what they call the ingratitude of the public; involved in debt, without one farthing of money to carry them home, after having spent the flower of their days, and many of them their patrimonies, in establishing the freedom and independence of their country; and having suffered every thing

which human nature is capable of enduring on this side death ; —I repeat it, when I reflect on these irritating circumstances, unattended by any thing to soothe their feelings, or brighten the gloomy prospect ;—I cannot avoid apprehending that a train of evils will follow of a very serious nature.'

In December, 1782, the important crisis approached. A general opinion prevailed, that congress possessed neither power nor inclination to fulfil its engagements with the army ; and the officers, desirous of removing the obnoxious features of the half-pay establishment, without giving up their own rights, solicited payment of the money actually due to them, and a commutation of the half-pay for a gross sum : three months passed away without any prospect of accommodation, until intelligence of the peace arrived ; when the irritation of the army seemed to require only a slight impulse to induce them either to make an imperious demand of justice, or to assume the power of redressing their own grievances. A convention of the officers was called by an anonymous notice ; and an address was privately circulated among the troops, highly calculated to inflame their passions, while it 'courted the auspices, and invited the direction of their illustrious leader : ' but the patriotism of that great man was elevated far above the ambition which might have influenced a less noble spirit : at that moment the destinies of his country were in his keeping ; but, strong in resolution and in action, he averted the threatened evil ; and he, who had led his army into battle with the enthusiasm of a hero, disbanded it with all the calmness and fortitude of a philosopher.

On the fourth of December, he bade adieu to his officers at New York, into which place he made his triumphant entry as soon as the royal army was withdrawn. The enthusiastic rejoicings on that occasion being concluded, the companions of his warfare, endeared to their commander by years of intercourse in peril and in triumph, accompanied him as far as the Hudson : when his barge quitted its shore, and he waved his hat, bidding them a last adieu, their feelings were too intense for utterance ; they replied only with suppressed sobs or with silent tears.

In every town and village through which the general passed, he was received with demonstrations of joy and gratitude. When he arrived at Annapolis, where congress was sitting, he announced his intention of resigning his command to those from whom he had received it, referring to them the mode in which it should be done : they unanimously resolved that it

should be in a public audience ; and when the appointed day arrived, the hall of the senate was crowded with personages of the highest merit and distinction. Washington, then addressing the president, in a speech remarkable for its dignified simplicity, ‘demanded leave to surrender into their hands the sacred trust committed to his care ; and, having finished the work assigned to him, to retire from the great theatre of action to the tranquil scenes of private life ; earnestly recommending to the protection of Almighty God the interests of his dear country, and those who had the keeping of them to his holy protection.’ To this address the president replied in words of the following import :—‘The United States assembled in congress receive, with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of that authority under which you have led our troops with success through a perilous and doubtful war. Called by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and while it was without friends or a government that could support you : you have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes : you have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity : having defended the standard of liberty in this new world, having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict and to those who feel oppression, you retire with the blessings of your country ; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command ; it will continue to animate the remotest ages. May the Almighty foster a life so beloved, with his peculiar care ; and may your future days be as happy, as your past have been illustrious.’

The ideas which crowded on the imagination both of the general and the president almost deprived them of the power of utterance : nor could the audience fail to exhibit strong emotions, at the sublime spectacle of a triumphant warrior, in the fulness of his fame, divesting himself of his power, and dedicating his laurels on the altar of his country.

Immediately after his resignation, the late commander hastened, to use his own words, ‘with ineffable delight,’ to his seat at Mount Vernon, where as much domestic happiness as can fall to the lot of man awaited him : but the country was not at rest ; and the skill, and wisdom, and virtue of the chief had been too deeply interested in all that concerned it, to allow him to withdraw intirely from public affairs. While the general

government was dependent on the separate action of thirteen independent states, it could neither be consistent nor tranquil; and it was soon discovered that the whole fabric must fall to ruin, or a new system be adopted: on this subject, however, there was a diversity of opinion, which excited tumults and insurrections; until a convention was at length held at Philadelphia by the representatives of twelve states: Washington was unanimously chosen president; when, after a session of about four months, the present federative constitution was framed; and Washington, by the voice of the nation, was placed at its head, as the first president of the United States. 'I wish,' said he, with his characteristic modesty, 'that there may not be reason for regretting' the choice; for, indeed, all I can promise, is to accomplish what can be done with an honest zeal.' Two days afterwards, he bade adieu to Mount Vernon; and his progress to New York was marked by every demonstration of public veneration and affection. The manner of his reception at Trenton was peculiarly appropriate: the bridge was covered with a triumphal arch, supported by thirteen pillars entwined with flowers and laurel, and bearing on the front, in large gilt letters, *The protector of the mothers will be the defender of the daughters*:¹² and there were assembled the mothers and the daughters, clothed in white, each bearing a basket of flowers to strew the path of their illustrious defender, while they sang a chorus in praise of his noble deeds.

On the twenty-third of April, 1789, his inauguration took place; but his government commenced under the pressure of numberless embarrassments; an empty treasury, millions of debt, domestic agitations, and foreign intrigue: he took the only way of remedying these evils by filling the departments with able men, selected with a sole reference to the public good; many of whom he drew from their retirement by the most earnest and pathetic exhortations.

Though the constitution had been adopted by a majority of the people in all the states, yet a strong party still continued jealous of the union, and attached to state-sovereignty: men of the highest talents and integrity were divided in opinion on this fundamental principle, notwithstanding all the improvements in the condition of the country. A few years of domestic prosperity and tranquillity might have allayed this excitement; but the turn of European affairs soon gave to it a new impulse and

¹² American Portrait Gallery, Life of Washington.

wider range. The French revolution burst out, and excited in all the states a strong desire to assist their ancient ally in the contest that ensued; but the firmness and prudence of Washington preserved his country from a destructive war, though it was long doubtful whether even the weight of his influence would be able to stem the tide of popular inclination.

When the time for a new election arrived, Washington was re-elected president; and at the call of his country again surrendered his tranquillity; risking popularity and influence, as he had before risked life and fortune, when all might be lost, and nothing personal gained. Of the wisdom of his measures, and of the honest manner in which he executed his trust, every year bore ample testimony; while foreign powers were taught, no less than his own countrymen, to rely on his integrity. When the second term of office expired, he declined a re-election; and with an anxiety worthy of his exalted character, drew up a valedictory address, earnestly imploring his countrymen to guard against foreign influence, to avoid party spirit, and to cherish an inviolable attachment to the union, as the support of tranquillity at home and peace abroad: he also laid it down as a political axiom, that national prosperity could not prevail exclusively of national virtue. Washington then retired to the peaceful shades of Mount Vernon; where, after a little more than two years spent in agricultural employments, and in liberal hospitality to the numerous visitors who came to offer the homage of their respect and gratitude, the fiat went forth, which called the 'Father of his Country' to his high reward in a better world. To crown the glory of Washington, he was a sincere and pious christian. A few hours before his dissolution, he said, 'he was not afraid to die;' and the last effort of the chief corresponded with the more than Roman character of his life: raising himself up, and casting a benign look on all around him, as if acknowledging their kind attentions, he composed his limbs, folded his arms on his bosom, and expired as gently as an infant.

From the contemplation of this illustrious character, we must return to notice some remarkable events in the affairs of England. The king made no secret of his sentiments respecting the coalition ministry: in an audience given to the duke of Portland at its formation, his majesty declared to that nobleman, that, feeling the new arrangements to be altogether compulsory on him, although he would not refuse his signature to any act presented to him officially by ministers, yet the responsibility of advising measures must rest solely with them-

selves ; and his displeasure was still more distinctly marked by the declaration, that he would not create any British peers at their recommendation. Fox, in particular, had offered such irreparable offence to the king by personal insults, that he did not even make an attempt at reconciliation ; and as he was conscious of having lost his hold on the people by his ill-fated coalition, he determined to signalise himself by some great measure, which might have the effect of restoring his popularity and consolidating his power : under these circumstances, with the assistance of Burke, he concocted his celebrated bill for the government of India. It is by no means necessary to charge him with an intention of rendering himself totally independent of king and people by this measure, though it bore the stamp of an arbitrary as well as of an energetic mind ; and would have imparted to the legislature a power unknown to the constitution. The administration of our vast Indian territories could scarcely be conducted worse than it had hitherto been : the evil was universally confessed ; and the necessity of a remedy was proved by the passing of Mr. Pitt's bill, so soon afterwards, with the additions made to it from time to time. For the reformation of such extensive abuses as were proved to exist, it was requisite to establish a new and extensive authority at home ; and Mr. Fox's cabinet might naturally think it more safe and constitutional to entrust this power to parliamentary commissioners, than to the crown, whose influence it had been the grand object of that party to diminish.

Parliament assembled on the eleventh of November, when the king's speech was short but comprehensive ; calling their attention to every possible means of recruiting the strength and resources of the nation, rendering the necessary revenue as little burdensome as possible to his subjects, and adopting new provisions to prevent the numerous frauds which had been committed in its collection : but in particular, his majesty stated, as a principal object of their attention, the situation of India. 'The utmost exertions of their wisdom,' he said, 'would be required to maintain and improve the valuable advantages derived from our Indian possessions, and to promote and secure the happiness of the native inhabitants.'

The address passed without opposition. Mr. Pitt, in his speech on the occasion, expressed his high approbation of the ends proposed by government, and promised his support ; though he warned ministers, that it would not be sufficient to attempt measures of palliation, and of a temporary nature,

which would only increase the danger by removing it to a distance: he also expressed surprise that this important business had been so long postponed.

Mr. Fox, impressed with an exalted idea of Mr. Pitt's talents, declared that nothing could afford him more satisfaction as a minister, or exultation as a man, than to be honored with his praise and support: he approved of the principles which that gentleman had briefly sketched concerning the objects of their future deliberation; acknowledged that our Indian affairs would no longer brook delay; and concluded with announcing, that on the eighteenth of November, he would propose a plan for the government of India.

On the day appointed, Mr. Fox moved for leave to bring in a bill for vesting the affairs of the East India company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietors and the public. The plan was marked by all the characteristics of his ardent, daring, and luminous mind. The total derangement of the company's finances, and their utter incompetency to govern the vast territories, of which they had, by very questionable means, obtained possession, was too evident to admit of contradiction: the evil was notorious, and difficult indeed was the task of devising an adequate remedy. This memorable bill proposed to take at once from the directors and proprietors the administration both of their territorial and commercial affairs; and to vest it in seven commissioners, named by the bill, and irremovable, except in consequence of an address from either house of parliament: these commissioners were to be assisted by a subordinate board of nine directors, to be named in the first instance by parliament, and afterwards chosen by the proprietors.

These commissioners and directors were empowered to enter immediately into possession of all lands, tenements, books, records, goods, and securities, in trust for the company. They were required to decide on every question within a limited time, or to assign a specific reason for their delay. They were not to vote by ballot, and were in almost all cases to enter on their journals the reasons of their vote. They were to submit, once in every six months, an exact schedule of their accounts to the court of proprietors; and at the beginning of every session to present a statement of their affairs to both houses of parliament. This bill was to continue in force four years, that is, till the year after the next general election. It was accompanied by a second, enacting regulations for the future government of the Anglo-Indian territories. It took from the

governor-general all authority to act independently of his council; declared every existing British power in India incompetent to acquire or exchange any territory in behalf of the company; to sign any treaty of partition; to let out the company's troops, or appoint to office any person removed for misdemeanor. It prohibited all monopolies; and declared every illegal present recoverable by any individual for his own sole benefit. But that part of the bill, on which the greatest value seemed to be placed by its author, related to the zemindars, or native landholders, whom it secured in the possession of their respective inheritances, and defended from oppression. It particularly aimed at abolishing all vexatious or usurious claims that might be made on them; and therefore prohibited mortgages, and subjected every doubtful claim to the examination of the commissioner. It is scarcely possible to conceive the astonishment excited in the house of commons by the disclosure of this system: it was espoused with enthusiasm by the friends of administration, and attacked by their opponents with all the vehemence of indignation and all the energy of invective: it was on one side extolled as a master-piece of genius, virtue, and ability; while on the other it was reprobated as a deep and dangerous design, fraught with mischief and ruin. Mr. Pitt distinguished himself on this occasion as a formidable adversary. He acknowledged that 'India wanted a reform, but not such a reform as this. The bill under consideration included a confiscation of the property and a disfranchisement of the members of the company: the influence which would accrue from it—a new, enormous, and unexampled influence,—was in the highest degree alarming. Seven commissioners, chosen ostensibly by parliament, but really by administration, were to involve in the vortex of their authority the patronage and treasures of India: the right honorable mover had acknowledged himself to be a man of ambition; and it now appeared that he was prepared to sacrifice king, parliament, and people at its shrine: he desired to elevate his present connexions to a situation, in which no political convulsions, no variations of power, might be able to destroy their importance, and terminate their ascendancy.' On the other hand, Mr. Fox, with surprising ability and eloquence, vindicated the bill. 'The arguments of his opponents,' he said, 'might have been adopted with additional propriety by king James II. He might have claimed the property of dominion; but what had been the language of the people? No, you have no property in dominion;—dominion was vested in

you, as it is in every chief magistrate, for the benefit of the community to be governed: it was a sacred trust delegated by compact: you have abused that trust; you have exercised dominion for the purpose of vexation and tyranny, not of comfort, protection, and good order: we therefore resume the power which was originally ours. But,' continued Mr. Fox, 'I am even charged with increasing the influence and power of the crown. Certainly, this bill as little augments the influence of the crown as any measure that could be devised for the government of India, with the slightest promise of success: the very genius of influence consists in hope or fear; fear of losing what we have, or hope of gaining more. Make the commissioners removable at will, and you set all the little passions of human nature afloat: invest them with power on the same tenure as that by which British judges hold their station; removable on delinquency, punishable on guilt, but fearless of danger if they discharge their trust; and they will be liable to no seducement; but will execute their functions with glory to themselves, and for the common good of the country and mankind. This bill presumes the possibility of bad administration; for every word in it breathes suspicion: it supposes that men are but men; it confides in no integrity; it trusts to no character: it annexes responsibility, not only to every action, but even to the inaction of the powers which it has created. He would risk,' he said, 'upon its excellence whatever was most dear to him, whatever men most valued, in character and reputation: he would stake all on the constitutional safety, the enlarged policy, the equity and wisdom of the measure. Whatever, therefore, might be the fate of its authors, he had no fear but that it would produce to this country every blessing of commerce and revenue; and by extending a generous and humane government over those millions whom an inscrutable Providence had placed under our government in the remotest regions of the earth, it would consecrate the name of England among the noblest of nations.' While the bill was pending in the commons, a petition was presented by the East India company, praying to be heard by counsel against the measure, which they represented as subversive of their charter, and operating as a confiscation of their property, without charging against them any specific delinquency, without trial, and without conviction: a proceeding contrary to the most sacred privileges of British subjects. The city of London also took alarm, and presented a strong petition to the same effect; but it was carried rapidly through all its stages in the commons by

decisive majorities ; the division, on the second reading, being 217 to 103. On the ninth of December, Mr. Fox, attended by a numerous train of members, presented the bill at the bar of the lords.

The second reading took place on the fifteenth of December, when counsel was heard in behalf of the company ; and on the seventeenth it was moved that the bill be rejected. On this occasion, lord Camden spoke with great ability against it, declaring that it was in the highest degree pernicious and unconstitutional. To divest the company of the management of their own property and commercial concerns, was to treat them as idiots ; and he regarded the bill, not so much in the light of a commission of bankruptcy, as of lunacy : but as a means of throwing an enormous addition of weight into the scale, not of legal, but ministerial influence, it was still more alarming : were this bill to pass into a law, his lordship forcibly declared we should see the king of England and the king of Bengal contending for superiority in the British parliament. After a vehement debate, the committal of the bill was negatived by ninety-five against seventy-six ; and it was finally rejected without a division. Such was the concluding scene of an administration, from whose vigor its partisans had conceived the most sanguine hopes ; and whose strength had been represented by its enemies so vast and irresistible, as would in its progress break down all the barriers of the constitution. As the first divisions in the upper house were favorable to this bill, it will naturally be imagined that such a sudden and remarkable change of sentiment arose from the intervention of some adequate cause. Though it was generally known that very little cordiality and confidence subsisted between the king and his ministers, yet on this measure they had obtained his majesty's concurrence : but doubts were probably excited in the royal breast by the language of certain members in the house of commons, who, in the heat of debate, asserted that if the bill passed into a law, the crown would be no longer worth wearing ; and that none would undertake to form an administration, when those who retired from office carried with them the patronage of India. The monarch began to see that he had been duped by his ministers ; and earl Temple, in a conference which he obtained with his majesty, so exposed the tendency of the bill to circumscribe the royal prerogative, that he was allowed to circulate a declaration privately among the peers, to the effect that the king would consider any one who voted for this measure as his enemy : and if these words

were not strong enough, his lordship was empowered to use whatever language he might deem more to the purpose.

So extraordinary an interference was not like to pass without animadversion; for though the right of a peer, as hereditary counsellor of the crown, to offer advice to his sovereign, is indisputable; yet the employment of the king's name to influence proceedings in parliament, was considered unconstitutional: ministers, therefore, instructed Mr. William Baker to move a resolution, 'that to report any opinion, or pretended opinion, of his majesty on any bill, or other proceeding in either house of parliament, with a view to influence the votes of its members, was a high crime and misdemeanor.' After an animated debate, the house divided on the question; and the resolution was carried by a majority of seventy-three: it was then resolved that the house should, in the following week, commence an inquiry into the state of the nation; and also, on the motion of Mr. Erskine, (whose splendid eloquence at the bar had lately brought him into notice) that, as it was essential to the national interests, and peculiarly incumbent on the commons, zealously to pursue the consideration of a remedy for abuses in the government of India; that any person, who should advise his majesty to prevent, or in any manner interrupt, the discharge of this great duty, should be deemed an enemy to his country. The king, however, influenced by his own feelings, as well as by the adversaries of the obnoxious coalition, resolved to disregard these votes, and to change his administration. On the day of debate, late in the evening, he sent an order for the seals of the two secretaries, and placed them in the hands of lord Temple, who was sworn in as secretary, and who wrote letters of dismissal to the remaining ministers. Mr. Pitt was summoned to fill the highest office, which he had firmly refused nine months before: but the aspect of the times had changed: the cabinet was now low in public esteem; and the king and lords had risen together to support the sovereign's authority; for it was clear, that if the ministry should force themselves back on him again, he must be a cipher for life. Still the difficulties of Pitt's situation might have appalled a less resolute mind: he had to face a majority in the house of commons, furious at their fall, and breathing out resentment against what they called the unconstitutional influence of the king's name: to increase his perplexities, lord Temple resigned the seals, under pretence of meeting more freely the charges of tampering with the royal confidence: many other leading persons shrunk from the responsibility of connexion with a

cabinet, which it was predicted would not exist a month: so that the young premier became doubtful of the result, though he declared that it was his fixed resolution not to abandon the position he had taken, or to desert his royal master. At length, the cabinet was formed: the marquis of Carmarthen succeeded Mr. Fox, and lord Sidney was substituted for lord North: lord Thurlow was reinstated in the office of lord chancellor, and earl Gower made president of the council: the duke of Rutland took the privy seal, and the duke of Richmond again became master of the ordnance: the secretary at war was Sir George Yonge; the admiralty was committed to lord Howe; and the office of treasurer of the navy was conferred on Mr. Dundas, in whom the minister found one of his most valuable auxiliaries. Thus in doubt, anxiety, and difficulty commenced the most memorable administration in the British annals.

CHAP. XXVII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1783.

Situation of the king and the new minister—Mr. Pitt's determination not to dissolve the parliament—Reasons for that determination—Mr. Erskine's motion for an address to the king on the subject—His majesty's answer—Motion of lord Surrey respecting the duchy of Lancaster—Mr. Pitt's disinterested conduct regarding the clerkship of the pells—Domestic affairs—Conduct of the prince of Wales in the affair of Fox's India bill, &c.—Meeting of parliament—Great contest between Pitt and Fox for supremacy—Attempts made to produce a coalition between them fail—Firmness and moral courage of the king—The people favor his cause against the commons—This, added to Mr. Pitt's high character, occasions the triumph of that minister—Dissolution of parliament—Returns highly favorable to Mr. Pitt—Effect on different parties—The minister's difficult situation.

THE king experienced from the late change of administration a relief and satisfaction of mind to which he had long been a stranger : he had sustained a harassing contest with the great whig families ; but, in the last ministry, the man of the people, and the representative of the aristocracy, had both coalesced against him ; yet this very junction effected what, perhaps, no other combination of circumstances could have produced ; it rendered both contemptible, and took away from them their main support in public opinion. The situation, however, of Mr. Pitt was far from enviable : though he had already placed himself foremost in debate, though his talents were universally acknowledged, and his integrity was above all suspicion ; yet he rested solely on these qualifications : he was supported by no family influence or political confederacy ; while the most formidable opposition ever known in the house of commons, both for numbers, connexions, and abilities, was arrayed against him. In all his motions, brought forward on the most patriotic motives, conducted with consummate skill, and enforced by a commanding eloquence, he had been decidedly beaten ; and the majorities continued almost equally strong against him, even after the dismissal of the cabinet was foreseen : his presumption and youthful folly, in attempting to withstand this opposition, was an object of incessant ridicule

in the house: Mr. Fox contemptuously pronounced it a political absurdity unparalleled in the annals of immature ambition; and staked his reputation for political foresight on the impossibility of business proceeding under this shadow of a ministry. To make assurance doubly sure, the opposition resolved to delay the land-tax bill, which was then pending; and without which the interest on the national debt could not be paid, nor a dissolution of parliament hazarded: this measure, indeed, formed an anxious subject of deliberation with Mr. Pitt; and, on consulting his friends, he found among them many who recommended a dissolution with great earnestness; bringing forward, as an argument, the anxiety shown by his antagonists to prevent it: but his powerful and reflecting mind soon determined otherwise. He saw that a premature and unsuccessful appeal to the nation might operate to his lasting disadvantage: the numbers on the ministerial side might indeed be increased by a new election; but the question was, could he obtain a majority over the great parliamentary interests that were opposed to him? If not, it was better, both for himself and the country, that a dissolution should be avoided, or at least deferred. Public feeling had not yet expressed itself with satisfactory decision: the coalition, though stigmatised by all men of honor, had not yet excited scorn sufficient to overcome personal interests; nor had the people been allowed time to analyse the unconstitutional principle and the dangerous tendencies of the East India bill: in the meantime, skilful writings, disseminated among all ranks, were gradually producing their desired effect;¹³ both monied men and landholders began to feel alarm at the views of an ambitious confederacy; all those who were attached to, or dependent on the king, were exerting themselves against a set of men whom they knew to be disagreeable to their sovereign; while the character of the new minister, free from every imputation of vice or political inconsistency, and his late defence of chartered rights, so calculated to promote confidence in a mercantile nation,—were extending his popularity on the ruin of his opponents. Relying, therefore, on the sense and honor of the nation, Mr. Pitt determined to make trial of the present parliament: if he failed, he would still have the power of dissolving it; with the advantage of showing to the nation, that an obstinate adherence

¹³ A treatise by Sir William Pulteney was very efficacious in impressing on the public a detestation of the India bill, and a dread of its author.

to party had rendered it unfit to carry on the national business: if he succeeded, he would disarm his antagonists on their own ground; and proving how little they had been sustained by character, but how much by patronage and intrigue, would annihilate their political influence, as a party, for ever.

The man who thus reasoned and thus acted, was scarcely more than twenty-four years old; at which age he undertook to support, almost unaided, the interests of the British empire: the overwhelming nature and importance of this charge may be estimated by some of the leading measures that awaited his return to parliament.¹⁴ The regulation of the Indian government contended with that of the British revenue for his immediate attention: innumerable abuses were to be reformed in both; and their expenses to be brought, as far as possible, within the limits of their income: in the latter, particularly, an unfunded sum of £30,000,000 was to be provided for, new taxes raised, and a system for the reduction of the national debt arranged: the commercial intercourse with America, so long interrupted, was to be restored; discontents in Ireland to be allayed; and the interests of Great Britain, threatened by continental nations, to be defended. Perhaps, no period in any statesman's life can be pointed out, presenting to view so many obstacles and difficulties.

The first attack made on the new minister was on the twenty-second of December, when, the house being in a committee on the state of the nation, Mr. Erskine moved an address to the king, 'praying that his majesty would not dissolve parliament, while the revenue of the country and the affairs of the East India company required immediate attention; but that he would hearken to the voice of his faithful commons, rather than to the secret insinuations of particular persons, who had private interests to serve, separate from the true interests of the king and his people.'

As Mr. Pitt's seat was still vacant in consequence of his ministerial appointment, the fury of the tempest fell principally on Mr. Dundas; but he had weathered too many gales in the house of commons to feel much alarm, though the ministry was then riding at single anchor. Mr. Bankes assured the house, that he was authorised by Mr. Pitt to say that he disclaimed all thoughts of advising a dissolution; but Mr. Fox and lord North, though they relied on the honor of Mr. Pitt, were not satisfied that such a measure might not be

¹⁴ He was re-elected for the borough of Appleby.

carried without his consent : Mr. Erskine's motion, therefore, was persevered in, and carried. The king's answer admitted the urgency of the subjects mentioned in the address, and assured the house that he would not interrupt its meeting by prorogation or dissolution ; but the majority were not contented with this pledge, which went no farther than their meeting after the recess : they proceeded, therefore, to take precautions against such an event ; and passed a resolution to prohibit the lords of the treasury from accepting any more bills from India, till the company should prove to the satisfaction of the house that they had sufficient means for payment, after discharging their current demands and the debt due to the public. Thus the commons assumed to themselves authority to suspend an act of parliament, by which the lords of the treasury were empowered to permit the directors, at discretion, to accept bills from India.

A motion also was made and carried by lord Surrey for an address to his majesty, praying him not to grant the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster for any other term than during pleasure, before the twentieth of January following ; the object of which was to prevent Mr. Pitt from bestowing it on one of his friends for life, as the marquis of Rockingham had given it to lord Ashburton. By another motion, the opposition fixed the day of meeting after the Christmas recess on the twelfth of January ; a proceeding, as much against the established practice of the house, as was the transacting of public business during the short but necessary absence of a newly-appointed minister.

During the recess, an opportunity offered itself to Mr. Pitt of acquiring credit by disinterested conduct. The clerkship of the pells, a very profitable place in the treasury, became vacant ; but the first lord, whose private income was very small, and who had given up a lucrative profession at his entrance into political life, disdained to convert, what fortune had thus thrown into his way, either to his own personal profit, or to the advancement of his ministerial influence : he gave it to colonel Barré, on condition of his resigning a pension nearly equal in value to the office in question. For this he was blamed by lord Thurlow in the house of lords ; but Mr. Pitt had higher views than could enter into the comprehension of a rapacious lawyer : his was a far nobler ambition than that of wealth ; and he had too much sagacity not to perceive that he should increase his influence by this forbearance ten times as much as he could have done by promoting

the advancement of any political adherent. In future times he exhibited no such inclination to spare the public purse, when the interests of his partisans were concerned.

On the third of May, prince Octavius died of the small-pox, at Kew; and on the seventh of August, her majesty was delivered of her fifteenth and last child, the princess Amelia. There being, as yet, no order of knighthood appropriated to Ireland, the king this year instituted that of St. Patrick, consisting of his majesty as sovereign, the lord lieutenant for the time being as grand master, and fifteen knights companions. On the eleventh of November, the prince of Wales took his seat in the house of peers: it was unfortunate for him and his party, that his first vote should be in favor of Mr. Fox's India bill; for the king saw, or fancied he saw, an opposition organised against him, at the head of which was his son: he expressed concern, that he should so soon take a leading part in political measures of such importance to our territorial possessions; on which, the prince retraced his steps, and did not appear again in the house during the agitation of that question: the whigs, however, were personally, as well as politically, odious to the king; and the friendship with which they were honored by the heir apparent, could not fail to be highly offensive to him, and produce that diminution of cordiality, which was apparent in many transactions. In several points, the breach that ensued bore a strong resemblance to that which had disturbed the preceding reign, for money was the chief cause of dissension: there was a degree of harshness and obstinacy on the part of his majesty; while the talents, wit, and accomplishments of those whom the heir apparent selected for his companions, threw a splendor round the connexion, which hid the looseness of its texture, even from their own observation.

Never was expectation more vivid, than on the day of meeting after the recess, the twelfth of January, when Fox, at the head of the opposition, was to show that no power in the constitution could withstand the will of the commons of England. At an early hour, generally appropriated to business of routine, he took possession of the house, by moving the order of the day for the committee on the state of the nation. His speech on the occasion was interrupted by the arrival of many new members to take the oaths; after which ceremony, Fox and Pitt rose at the same time, each demanding to be heard; the former, as being in possession of the house; the latter, as having a message from the king to deliver, respecting

the removal of some German troops from America. The speaker, being appealed to, decided in favor of Fox, unless he would consent to wave his right: this, however, he contemptuously refused to do; declaring that the king's message might be delivered, after other business of great importance to the house was concluded: he then moved the order of the day. This motion gave Pitt an opportunity of speaking; when he manfully rebutted all the charges that had been made against him of back-stairs influence, defying calumny to bring forward a shadow of proof, that he had condescended to use it. 'I have neither the meanness,' said he, fixing his eyes on the opposition, 'to act under the concealed influence of others; nor the hypocrisy to pretend, where the measures of an administration, in which I had a share, were blamed, that they were measures not of my advising. This is the only answer I shall ever deign to make on the subject.' Mr. Fox now brought forward his prohibitory resolutions, forbidding the issue of any public money, after a dissolution or prorogation of parliament, unless the act of approbation had previously passed; and ordering the accounts of moneys already issued to be laid before the house: these were followed by two motions from the earl of Surrey; first, that in the present situation of his majesty's dominions, it was peculiarly necessary there should be an administration which had the confidence of the public; which was carried without a division: secondly, that the late changes in his majesty's councils were accompanied with circumstances new and extraordinary, such as did not conciliate the confidence of that house. Mr. Dundas then moved 'that the chairman do leave the chair:' a strenuous debate ensued; when his motion was negatived by 232 against 193, and that of lord Surrey carried without a division. Being thus beaten in a series of resolutions, two of which were directly against his continuance in office; opposed both by the aristocratic and popular parties in the house; obliged to contend against the most practised debaters and the most subtile politicians; with scarcely an official friend of ability to support him, except Mr. Dundas; the star of Pitt seemed destined to descend in gloom: but he found resources in his own intrepid spirit, as well as in the moral courage of his royal master.

The disasters of this memorable day were detailed by him in a letter to the king; which brought a reply, couched in the following firm and dignified language:—

'Mr. Pitt cannot but suppose, that I received his com-

munication of the two divisions in the long debate which ended this morning, with much uneasiness, as it shows the house of commons much more willing to enter into any intemperate resolutions of desperate men, than I could have imagined. As to myself, I am perfectly composed, as I have the self-satisfaction of feeling that I have done my duty. Though I think Mr. Pitt's day will be fully taken up, in considering, with the other ministers, what measures are best to be proposed on the present crisis; yet, that no delay may arise from my absence, I will dine in town, and consequently be ready to see him in the evening, if he should think that would be of utility. At all events, I am ready to take any step that may be proposed to oppose this faction, and to struggle to the last period of my life; but I can never submit to throw myself into its power: if they in the end succeed, my line is a very clear one, and to which I have fortitude enough to submit.' On this letter the fortune of the state was turned: nothing but the most decisive and uncompromising support of the sovereign could have retained the minister at the helm: the king's pledge was given; and it is barely justice to say, that in no subsequent period of their connexion was it ever violated.

On the evening appointed in the royal letter for a conference, Mr. Pitt received a renewal of his majesty's determination, and proceeded to the conflict with the full expectation of final triumph. On the fourteenth, he introduced his bill for the better government of India, on principles which would leave the commercial concerns of the company in their own hands, but establish a board of control, consisting of commissioners appointed by the king, and possessing a negative on all political proceedings: the commons however were still in the hands of Fox, who objected to the proposed bill, on the ground of its differing, in all its material provisions, from that which had lately received the approbation of the house; while the plan appeared partial and incomplete; an alleviation, not a remedy for existing evils. Leave however was granted that it should be read for the first time on the following Friday; to which day the house adjourned.

The business of that day commenced with a petition from the county of York, presented by Mr. Duncombe, for a more equal representation of the people in parliament. Lord North, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Powys objected to the matter of this petition; but Mr. Pitt said, that soon after his introduction into the house of commons, he had professed himself a friend to parliamentary reform, and he still continued so: if any thing were

wanting to confirm his opinion on this point, it might be found in the conduct which he had witnessed in the house for some weeks past: he would not however stand up for every species of reform; though a temperate and moderate reform, temperately and moderately pursued, would at all times find an advocate in him.

On leave being given that the petition should be brought up, Mr. Pitt seconded the motion that it should lie on the table; which produced an observation from lord Surrey, that the freeholders of Yorkshire expected much more from him: they reposed the greatest confidence in his talents; and as they did not suppose he united himself with a cabinet hostile to reform, so they presumed that success would attend their application, because it would be supported by the whole weight of government: this he had been commissioned by a most respectable body of freeholders to communicate to the right honorable gentleman. With regard to himself, he was a friend to reform; for he had seen the fatal consequences of secret influence, which would not have dared to show itself, had the house of commons really consisted of the representatives of the nation. While he acknowledged Mr. Pitt's great abilities and eminent qualifications for office, he lamented that his appointment should be founded on secret influence, and that he should be joined with those who were the worst foes of the constitution.

Mr. Pitt, in his reply, declared that he was thankful to the very respectable body of Yorkshire freeholders for their good opinion of him; but was at a loss to conceive where they learned, that he would never make part of a cabinet which should contain any member hostile to parliamentary reform. Perhaps it would be impossible ever to form such a cabinet; for so many different opinions existed on this subject, that he believed the country would remain without an administration, if it waited for unanimity: Mr. Fox agreed with him on this point, and the petition was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Pitt then presented his India bill, which was read the first time, and ordered to be printed; the second reading being fixed for the Friday following. The house afterwards resolved itself into a committee; when lord Charles Spencer moved a resolution, expressing 'the necessity of an administration that should have the confidence both of the house and of the country; which, as the present ministers have not, their continuance in office is contrary to constitutional principles, and injurious to the interests of the king and his people.' Mr. Powys op-

posed this motion as premature, unprecedented, and unjust : though he spoke in high terms both of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, he declared his disapprobation of the manner in which the former had come into office, and blamed the other for his coalition with lord North. He had long wished to see a union between these two eminent men ; but thought that his lordship was a great obstacle to such an arrangement.

Mr. Fox, in noticing this part of Mr. Powys's speech, said, ' that he did not court a union with any party ; nor did he avoid it, when it could be formed on sound and general principles ; and thus he had coalesced with lord North ; but the present ministers had got into office by a conspiracy against the constitution.' This charge however he thought proper to qualify, by a personal compliment to Mr. Pitt :—' I venerate,' said he, ' the character of the young man who holds the reins of government at present : I admire his virtues, and respect his abilities.'

In the debate on this important motion, the aim of which was to compel the resignation of ministers, the most remarkable speech was made by Mr. Dundas, who seized with peculiar force and energy on the main question—the right of the king to choose his own ministers, and the unconstitutional attempt of the commons, not only to defraud the house of peers of its share in the public interests ; but to force the king, in defiance of his privilege, to name such ministers as they should select to carry on the government. After defending the appointment of the present men, and showing what would be the effect of passing the resolution now proposed, he called on the independent part of the house to stand forth, and maintain both its character and moderation : ' Let the house,' said he, ' look well to its conduct this night ; for this night it is about to decide, what is the constitution of this country. The assumption of power and privileges which did not belong to it once proved the overthrow of our constitution : we are verging towards the same precipice again ; we are claiming to ourselves the right of appointing ministers ; we are disclaiming the nomination of his majesty, without cause and without trial.'

After several members had spoken, Mr. Pitt rose to declare that he could not but feel comfort and satisfaction at the full and impartial discussion which the question had undergone, and especially at the manner in which so many worthy and respectable men had rescued his character from the violence of faction and the malice of party : the discussion had incontestably proved, on the one hand, that the ingenuity of those,

whose chief aim was to mislead and confound, had not been so successful as they might possibly have expected; and on the other, that there were many men of acknowledged estimation and importance in the country, who were not more accurate in judgment, than zealous in determination to tear the mask from the face of faction, and to show it in its native colors: this necessarily afforded him high gratification. He desired to throw himself on the candor, justice, and honor of the house; observing, that if the present motion should pass before the merits of his India bill should be discussed, he would be condemned unheard, untried, and unconvicted.

The house, however, was still in the hands of his opponent, and the resolution was carried by 205 to 184: an adjournment then took place to the Tuesday following; on which day, several members having expressed an earnest wish for a coalition between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox; the former declared that he was not averse to a union so strongly recommended by respectable and independent men; but, on the other hand, he agreed intirely with the right honorable gentleman, that if not founded on principle, it would be fallacious, and produce disunion where it would be still more dangerous than within the walls of that house. In answer to Mr. Fox's assertion, that his majesty's ministers held their places in defiance of parliamentary opinion, he declared, 'that nothing but a sense of his duty to the public kept him in office, out of which he could not at this moment go with so much honor as attended his coming into it.'

Mr. Fox, though disconcerted because ministers had not resigned in consequence of lord Charles Spencer's resolution, doubted how far he should be supported in any personal question, and thought it better not to hazard another motion in the committee till the fate of his antagonist's India bill should be decided: on the Friday, therefore, he opposed the commitment of that bill, in a long speech, comparing it with his own, which he studiously represented as the bill of the commons: Mr. Pitt replied to the objections of Mr. Fox and others, but was defeated once more by a majority of only eight; the numbers being 222 against 214. Flushed with his victory, Fox moved, the same night, for leave to bring in a bill for the regulation of Indian affairs; which in its principles, as he informed the house, would be similar to his former one. Leave being given, he called on the minister to rise, and declare explicitly whether it was intended to prevent its progress by a dissolution of parliament: Mr. Pitt, however, kept his seat; nor could he be

provoked to speak by the successive attacks of different members, or by the imputation of preserving 'a sulky silence,' thrown out by Mr. Fox; until general Conway rose in great warmth, and called on him to explain his conduct for his own honor. 'The present ministry,' said the gallant general, 'originating in darkness and secresy, maintain themselves by artifice and reserve: they exist by corruption; and are now about to dissolve parliament, after sending their agents round the country to bribe the electors.' Pitt then rose; but it was to call general Conway to order; desiring him to specify the instances where ministerial agents had corrupted voters: it was an assertion which he could not prove, and therefore he ought not to have made it. 'No arguments,' said he, loftily, 'however artful, no strong words thrown out with a view to put me off my guard, shall draw me aside from that purpose, which, on mature deliberation, I have formed: individual members have no right to call on me for replies to questions involving in them great and important considerations; nor is it incumbent on me to answer interrogatories put in the harsh language that has been used.' Then, turning to general Conway, and rebuking him for an intemperance of expressions, which he was determined not to imitate; he slightly touched on that disparity of years, which might have justified intemperance on one side, while it should have produced gravity and moderation on the other; and he concluded with one of those electrifying quotations from the classics with which his memory was well stored, though he was generally forbearing in their use: addressing the aged general in the words of Scipio to Fabius;—*'Si nulla alia re, modestia certe, et temperando linguam, adolescens senem vicero.'*

The leading members of opposition still continued their demands; but neither the violence nor the dexterity with which they were put, nor the threats with which they were accompanied, had the least effect on Mr. Pitt, who persisted in his imperturbable silence. At length, Mr. Fox, despairing to obtain information, rose to express his astonishment and indignation at what he termed an insult to the house; moving an adjournment to the next day, though that was Saturday, when he hoped members would attend to take proper measures for vindicating the honor, and asserting the privileges of the commons: at two o'clock, therefore, in the morning, they adjourned.

Next day, the house was uncommonly full; but all the preparations for debate ended in a speech from Mr. Powys,

whose tears, for with them he accompanied it, were unable to draw more from Mr. Pitt, than a promise that parliament should not be dissolved before Monday; till which day the house adjourned.

The lords kept aloof from personal conflicts; being desirous to avoid a return of that struggle between the two houses, which had caused so much mischief in the last century: but they took an early opportunity of expressing an opinion on this great question. On the fourth of February, the earl of Effingham moved two resolutions:—first, that an attempt in any one branch of the legislature to suspend the execution of law, by separately assuming to itself a discretionary power, was unconstitutional:—secondly, that the authority of appointing persons to the great offices of executive government, is vested solely in his majesty; on whose wisdom, in the exercise of this prerogative, the house places the firmest reliance. The former of these was carried by a majority of 100 to 53; the latter passed without a division: both were then embodied in an address which was presented to his majesty; and the king, in his answer, emphatically declared ‘that he had no object in the choice of ministers, but to call into his service men who best deserved the confidence of parliament and of the public in general.’

His majesty, who wrote to Mr. Pitt on the day this address was expected to be moved, after lamenting the lengths to which the house of commons had gone, thus expressed himself:—‘I trust the house of lords will feel that the hour is come, for which the wisdom of our ancestors established that respectable corps in the state, to prevent either the crown or the commons from encroaching on the rights of each other: indeed, should not the lords stand boldly forth, this constitution must soon be changed; for if the two sole remaining privileges of the crown are infringed on, that of negating bills which have passed both houses of parliament, and that of naming the ministers to be employed;—I cannot but feel, as far as regards my own person, that I can be no longer of utility to this country, nor continue with honor in the land.’

As the rejection of Mr. Pitt’s India bill led his antagonists to expect an immediate dissolution of parliament, so it induced him to consider the expediency of resorting to that measure, for which he wanted not inducements. The contest between himself and his rival was beginning to excite great public attention; and the national admiration increased daily at the bold resistance of so young a minister to the whole force of opposition; at the ability of his defence, as well as at the

resources which he displayed : and this favorable disposition of the public began to show itself in addresses to the king ; thanking him for removing his late ministers from power, and declaring their resolution to support him in the legal exercise of his prerogative : under these circumstances, the subject of a dissolution was urged on Mr. Pitt by his friends, and the measure was recommended by the highest authority. 'The opposition,' said his majesty,¹⁵ 'will throw every impediment in our way : but we must be men ; and if we mean to save the country, we must cut those threads which cannot be unravelled : half measures are ever puerile, and often destructive.'

The great judgment, however, of Mr. Pitt prevented him from coming to a hasty decision ; and although a dissolution would have relieved him from grievous difficulties, he determined to wait till he could make an appeal to the nation with safety. The India bill had given a disrelish and distrust of the adverse party to a large body of the community ; and he saw that the country at large was awakening to a lively interest in the great question at issue ; that the nature of it would soon be generally understood ; and that if Mr. Fox were permitted to take his course for some time longer, he would, by his precipitate measures, effectually alienate the public mind from his cause. A dissolution of parliament then would not only displace the party, but probably keep them out of office for a long period : at present, however, there was danger in the attempt ; for if the same members should be returned to the next parliament, the king probably would go to Hanover, and Mr. Pitt to the Tower.

During the debates, frequent wishes had been expressed that a union should be formed of the leaders on both sides of the house ; and to promote this object, a meeting was held at the St. Albans tavern by more than fifty independent members, who sent a deputation to Mr. Pitt and the duke of Portland, earnestly requesting them to communicate with each other, for the purpose of rescuing the country from its distracted state. To this proposal the minister replied, 'that he should be happy to co-operate with the wishes of so respectable a meeting, in forming a more extended administration, if it could be done with principle and honor.' The duke, as the organ of opposition, answered in a more imperious tone, 'that he should think himself happy in obeying the commands of so respect-

¹⁵ In a letter to Mr. Pitt, of the date of the twenty-fifth of this month.

able a meeting; but the greatest difficulty to him, and he imagined a still greater to Mr. Pitt, was the circumstance of that gentleman's continuance in office.'

This answer might have been regarded as setting the matter at rest; for it was not reasonable to expect that Mr. Pitt should divest himself of his authority, and descend from his high vantage ground, to please his opponents: the meetings, however, were still held at the St. Albans tavern, and many letters passed between the principal parties; but the gentlemen were mortified by finding all their efforts to bring about a personal interview ineffectual. On the second of February, therefore, their chairman, Mr. Grosvenor, moved a resolution in the house relative to a united administration; in the debates on which Mr. Fox charged his opponent 'with preferring his own understanding to the collected wisdom of the house, and making a breach between the legislative and executive branches of the government:' while Mr. Pitt, in reply, after alluding to the sense of the people, which was in favor of the late ministerial changes, expressed his determination not to give way; 'because he foresaw the greatest evils if he should comply: he was, however, so little attached to office, that if he could see a strong and well-connected government ready to succeed him, he would cheerfully retire, without any wish to form a part of it.' The resolution being carried, Mr. Coke, member for Norfolk, moved, 'that it is the opinion of this house, that the continuance of the present ministers in office is an obstacle to the formation of such an administration, as may enjoy the confidence of the house, and tend to pacify the country.'

This motion was strenuously resisted by Mr. Dundas, as contrary to the wishes of the people, expressed in their late addresses to the throne; and hostile to the scheme of union, which it was the intention of the previous resolution to promote. Mr. Fox replied in a speech of unusual violence; and having intimated, at its conclusion, that if ministers persevered in retaining office, it would be necessary to adopt measures which must finally restore the insulted honor of the house; he called on the country gentlemen to stand aloof from men who had established themselves in power by means so unconstitutional and destructive.

Mr. Powys, after declaring that he had done every thing in his power to prevent the passing of the late resolutions, and that he thought it hard to condemn a minister untried, especially one for whose abilities and conduct he entertained the highest respect; added, that he must vote for the present mo-

tion, while the former resolutions remained on the journals: at the same time, he acknowledged the delicacy of Mr. Pitt's situation, and said, 'that he did not wish to see him quit the fortress in which he was at present; and come with servile humility, or with a halter round his neck, to deliver up its keys to the besieger.' He proposed, therefore, as an alternative, that Mr. Pitt should move the previous question, for the purpose of reconsidering or rescinding the former resolutions: the minister, however, disdained to adopt any such measure for the sake of gaining a vote; and immediately gave his direct negative to the present motion. With regard to the fortress, of which the honorable gentleman had spoken, 'the only one which he knew, or ever desired to have a share in defending, was the fortress of the constitution: for that he would resist every attack, and every attempt to seduce him out of it. With what regard to personal honor or public principle could he be expected to march out, with a halter about his neck, change his armor, and meanly beg to be readmitted, and considered as a volunteer in the army of the enemy?' He concluded a spirited and able speech by observing, that if the house insisted on ministers going out, there were two constitutional ways open to it: either to proceed by impeachment against them for their crimes, if any had been committed; or by an immediate address to the crown: their removal lay with the crown, not with that house; and their continuance in office, for the purpose of preventing government from falling a prey to that administration which had been removed, and which was ready to force itself on the sovereign against his will, was neither illegal nor unconstitutional. When the house, however, divided on the question, it was carried by 223 against 204.

This measure was followed up, on the third, by Mr. Coke, who moved that the two resolutions passed the preceding evening should be laid before his majesty by such members of this house as are privy counsellors. During the debates that ensued, Mr. Wilberforce took a principal part; and in the course of his speech, declared 'that Mr. Fox, by his coalition with lord North, had lost all confidence, all political reputation, all popularity.' Mr. Powys observed, that although he should vote for the motion, yet 'he hesitated not to pronounce Mr. Pitt the first political character in the country; but he was not greater than the constitution.' The question was carried by a majority of 211 to 187; and at Mr. Fox's motion, the committee on the state of the nation was postponed to Monday, in order to give time for knowing what effect this communica-

tion to his majesty would produce. The house then adjourned to Thursday, the fifth of February; on which day lord Hinchbrook informed them that he had laid their resolutions before the king, who had signified his intention of taking them into consideration.

No communication on this subject was made from his majesty to the house before the eighteenth: in the mean time, its members were occupied in canvassing the proceedings of the lords, and in measures of revenue and finance: on one of these occasions, when the subject of a coalition was brought up, Mr. Pitt observed, that 'with regard to animosity, he entertained none against any man; but there might be persons, whose private character he respected, and whose abilities were eminent; with whom he could not, on public grounds, bring himself to act, or to sit in the same cabinet.' As this observation evidently pointed at lord North, that nobleman, though evidently hurt by such an exclusion, declared, in a dignified and manly manner, 'that he would not be an obstacle to the formation of such a firm, extended, and united administration, which the distracted state of the country required;' and several members returned thanks to him for this instance of public spirit. The house then resolved itself into a committee of supply; and after a long conversation on the expediency of building fortifications for our dock-yards, the ordnance estimates were voted without a division: next day, on a motion of lord John Cavendish, that the house should resolve itself into a committee on the receipt tax act, the minister voted in the majority, and thereby declared his approbation of the principle of the bill.

In the mean time, the sentiments of the nation were rapidly verging towards that point where Mr. Pitt foresaw they would settle; for on the tenth of February, the city of London voted him, not only thanks 'for his able, upright, and disinterested conduct in the present alarming and critical juncture of affairs,' but the freedom of the city, in a gold box, 'as a mark of gratitude for his zeal in supporting the legal prerogatives of the crown and the constitutional rights of the people.' When the commons met on the eighteenth, Mr. Pitt rose, not to deliver a regular message from the king, but merely to inform the house, that his majesty, after a full consideration of its resolutions communicated to him, had not thought proper to dismiss his ministers; nor had those ministers resigned: Mr. Fox immediately expressed his astonishment at this explicit declaration, and declared that the house of commons had never before received such an answer from a prince of the Bruns-

wick line—a flat and peremptory negative to their sentiments and wishes: he alluded in marked terms to the times of Charles I., in which, as in the present contest, the house of commons was at variance with the other branches of the legislature; but he forgot, or did not choose to state, that, in the instance alluded to, the house was backed by the *people*, and that the honesty and sincerity of that monarch were more than questioned: in the present instance, his majesty had taken high constitutional grounds; had acted a sincere and manly part throughout: the people suspected neither his honor nor his sincerity; and a large majority of them, which was daily increasing, coincided heartily with his views. Mr. Fox, being convinced that the resolutions of the house had made no impression either on his majesty or Mr. Pitt, now resolved to ascertain whether the majority, which he had hitherto commanded, would support him in more violent measures. The ordinance estimates would afford him a fair opportunity of stopping the supplies, but he was aware that this was a delicate point: accordingly, he observed, that he had not determined whether it would be right to proceed to such a length; but was desirous that the house, in its unprecedented situation, should have time to reflect on what they had just heard from his majesty's minister: all he positively affirmed was, that it was necessary something should be done: leaving it therefore open to himself to act as he might see expedient, he had recourse to the plausible proposal of adjourning to the next day, by which he would form some judgment of the temper and disposition of the house. In one part of his most artful and ingenious speech, he endeavored to alarm; in another, to conciliate; in a third, he threatened: he represented, that there was a settled design to annihilate the importance of the house of commons, in order to persuade members that they were contributing to their own degradation; but as Mr. Pitt's character and principles exempted him from any such imputation, he ascribed this design solely to an interior cabinet, to secret advisers, of whom he was only the unconscious tool.¹⁶ He declared his own anxiety for pacific measures, and asserted his love of moderation: he even allowed the right of the king to nominate his own ministers, and to continue them in office; although such a concession could scarcely be reconciled with his former assertions.

Mr. Powys followed Mr. Fox, and supported the motion,

¹⁶ Tomline, vol. i. p. 370.

which he represented as temperate, and the only means of giving to the house a breathing time, in the prospect of a compromise: he adhered to his opinion, that the house must support its own resolutions; and still professed his admiration of Mr. Pitt's principles and abilities, against whom he intended no personal opposition, though he supported the present motion.

Mr. Pitt, in reply, observed, that an attempt had been made to color the measure of putting off the supplies, as if it were only the pause of a moment, and as if this pause were occasioned by a circumstance which the house had not foreseen, and which put parliament, the country, and public affairs in quite a new situation: but to all intents and purposes the supplies were stopped; and the trick was too shallow to succeed against the good sense of the country: no man would doubt that he allowed the right of the commons to withhold the supplies; but he hoped no man would say that the present crisis demanded such a measure. 'The right honorable gentleman,' said he, 'conscious that he is actually stopping the supplies, is very prudently unwilling to push the question; for then only can the conduct of his majesty's ministers be fully investigated: I will therefore press the question, and will challenge my opponents to meet it fairly and without subterfuge; for in that discussion, the different motives of the contending parties will appear; and I know, from the temper and principles of the house, that the facts which will be substantiated, and the truths which will be established, will make it reluctant to withhold the supplies, on which the harmony and energy of government depend, and for which the national faith is pledged.' He went on to combat the arguments which had been addressed personally to himself; and the debate was continued to a late hour, when the question of adjournment was carried by a majority of only twelve.

'The friends of Mr. Pitt,' says his biographer,¹⁷ 'congratulated each other on this small majority, which afforded to many, who had hitherto desponded, a ray of hope that he would ultimately triumph.' A compromise was desired by some; and even Mr. Fox said, he thought that the supplies ought not to be withheld; only, that they ought not to be voted unconditionally: Mr. Pitt, however, declared that he would enter into no compromise, or stipulation for passing them. The conversation continued for some time; but at last Mr. Fox

¹⁷ Tomline, vol. i. p. 376.

proposed, that the committee on the state of the nation should be deferred till Monday; soon after which the house adjourned.

Next day, Mr. Powys moved a resolution, humbly requesting his majesty 'to take such measures as might tend to give effect to the wishes of his faithful commons;' but as this did not seem pointed enough to Mr. Fox's party, an amendment was moved to insert the following words; 'by removing any obstacle to the formation of such an administration as this house has declared to be requisite in the present critical situation of affairs.' It being generally admitted that this aimed at the dismissal of ministers, a long debate ensued; when Mr. Pitt, in one of the most spirited and forcible speeches ever delivered within the walls of the house, replied to all the arguments and invectives of Fox, as well as of those who followed in his train. After showing that the present opposition tended to re-establish the former coalition, which was pregnant with calamity to the nation; he attacked his great opponent on the assumption of a new character, as champion of a majority of the house of commons against the voice of the people; taunting him with expressions which he had lately used regarding the opinions and the addresses of the people; as if the former were grounded on imposture or ignorance, and the latter were on a parallel with those offered in the infamous reign of Charles II. From a grave exposure of the hypocritical conduct of opposition, he passed to a burlesque account of their discomfiture; for they denied that the addresses had sufficiently marked public opinion, and talked of their battles at Reading, at Hackney, and at Westminster; where, however, the addresses were all carried. 'Whether it is a proof of victory,' said he, turning to Mr. Fox, 'to say, the people would not even hear me; whether that right honorable gentleman, who once could charm the multitude into dumb admiration of his eloquence, and into silent gratitude for his exertions in the cause of freedom; whether he, emphatically named the man of the people, is now content with the execration of those multitudes, who once, perhaps, too much adored him;—are points I will not decide.'

In allusion to Fox's boast of the splendid names and connexions which appeared in his favor, the orator declared that he was not afraid to match the minority against them, either on the score of independence, of property, of hereditary honors, of knowlege in the law and constitution, of all that can give dignity to the peerage. Then, looking at Mr. Pratt, who was

one of the members of the house, he burst out into a fine encomium on the eminent character of his father, lord Camden, whom he did not fear to place in the front of that battle, for which the noble peer had buckled on his armor, marching forth, as if inspired with his youthful vigor, to the charge. 'Venerable he is,' said Mr. Pitt, 'for his years, venerable for his abilities, adored throughout the country on account of his attachment to this glorious constitution, high in rank and honor, and possessing in these tumultuous times an equanimity and dignity of mind, that render him infinitely superior to that wretched party spirit with which the world may fancy us infected.' While the house was admiring this transition from the language of keen rebuke and scorn to that of high and eloquent praise, he burst on it with an indignant refusal of those terms, which had been so often proposed to him as preliminary to a coalition. After stating the situation in which he stood, he said; 'I will not abandon it, to throw myself on the mercy of that right honorable gentleman. He calls me now a mere nominal minister, the puppet of secret influence. Sir, it is because I will not become a mere nominal minister of his creation,—it is because I disdain to be the puppet of that right honorable gentleman,—that I will not resign. That I am now standing on the rotten ground of secret influence, I will not allow; nor yet will I quit this ground, to put myself, as he calls it, under his protection; to accept of my nomination at his hands; and become a poor, self-condemned, helpless, unprofitable minister in his train. If I have, indeed, submitted to be the puppet and minion of the crown, why should he condescend to receive me into his band? Admit, that I have more than my share of the king's confidence; yet how is my being out of office two days to make any diminution of that confidence? The right honorable gentleman, therefore, every moment contradicts his own principles: and he knows, that if I were first to resign, in the forlorn hope of returning as an efficient minister into administration, I should soon become the sport and ridicule of my opponents; nay, forfeit also the good opinion of those, by whose independent support I am now honored.'

After this forcible and indignant exposition of his feelings, Mr. Pitt attacked his antagonist on the menace, to which he had given utterance, of stopping the supplies. Conscious of the tremendous evils to which such a measure would lead, he had confined himself to that menace; and public indignation had made him anxious to clear himself from the suspicion of

sincerity; but he was in the power of one who determined not to spare him. 'The right honorable gentleman,' said Mr. Pitt, 'tells you that he means not to stop the supplies again to-night, but that he shall only postpone them occasionally: he has stopped them once, because the king did not listen to the voice of his commons: he now ceases to stop them, though the same cause ceases not to exist. Now what is all this but a mere bravado, calculated to alarm the country, yet ineffectual to the object? I grant, indeed, that if the money destined to pay the public creditors is voted, one great part of the mischief is avoided: but let not this house think it a small thing to stop the money for public services.' After alluding to the evil of such prodigious sums flowing into the public coffers, and remaining there without circulation, and also to the impropriety of parliament trusting those persons with public money in whom it placed no confidence, he asked,—'What, sir, is there in my character so flagitious? Am I, the chief minister of the treasury, so suspected of alienating the public money to my own, or any other sinister purpose, that I am not to be trusted with the ordinary issues?' (A cry of No, no, from the opposition benches.) 'Well then,' he exclaimed, seizing on this admission; 'if they renounce the imputation, let them also renounce the argument.'

With regard to the very important subject of the royal prerogative, he thus expressed himself, in clear and constitutional terms:—'I will not shrink from avowing myself a friend to the king's just prerogative. Prerogative, sir, has been justly called a part of the rights of the people: grant only, that this house has a negative in the appointment of ministers, and you transfer to it the executive: if the constitutional independence of the crown be thus reduced to the verge of annihilation, where is the boasted equipoise of the constitution? where is the balance among the three branches of the legislature, which our ancestors measured out to each with so much precision?' After stating, that it was neither contempt of the house, nor lust of power, nor a personal point of honor, that made him cling to office; but that the situation of the country called loudly on him to defend his position as it were a castle, he concluded with these emphatic words;—'I am determined, therefore; and I will defend it.'

But no appeal to reason or feeling could yet break down the obstinacy of the house: the motion, as amended by Mr. Eden, passed by a majority of twenty; and Fox, pursuing his triumph, moved and carried an address, to be solemnly pre-

sented to the king on his throne by the whole house, praying him to dismiss his ministers. The report of the ordnance estimates was then brought up; which being agreed to without any debate, the house adjourned between five and six in the morning.

The committee at the St. Albans tavern continued to hold meetings, and to pass votes; but Mr. Pitt still refused to resign, and the duke of Portland refused to treat with him in his ministerial capacity; which gave occasion to an old member of the house to say, that this diplomacy of his grace reminded him of the fox in the fable, entreating the raven, who was seated on the branch of a tree, to come down, and settle their terms of alliance on the ground. On the ninth of February, the associates determined to meet only once a week during the sitting of parliament: but what passed in the house on the eleventh of this month revived their hopes; and at a meeting on the thirteenth, they renewed their representations both to Pitt and Fox, on the advantage of 'a union consistent with principle and honor;' adding their thanks to lord North, for his public and voluntary declaration of a desire to promote it.

In consequence of this proceeding, and that no backwardness on the subject might be imputed to himself, the minister made a proposal to the king, that his majesty himself should recommend an interview between the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of forming a united ministry: it was received by the king with surprise and agitation: but he replied next morning, by an admirable letter; in which, after expressing his mortification at contemplating the possibility of again seeing the heads of opposition in employment, especially Mr. Fox, whose conduct had been directed not more against his station than his person; he thus expressed his sentiments:—

'My present situation is perhaps the most singular that ever occurred, either in the annals of this or any other country; for the house of lords, by a majority not less than near two to one, have declared in my favor; and my subjects at large, in a much more considerable proportion, are not less decided: to combat which, opposition have only a majority of twenty, or at most of thirty, in the house of commons, who, I am sorry to add, seem as yet willing to prevent the public supplies. Though I certainly have never much valued popularity, yet I do not think it is to be despised, when arising from a rectitude of conduct, and when it is to be retained by following the same respectable path, which conviction makes me esteem that of duty; as calculated to prevent one branch of the legislature

from annihilating the other two, and seizing also the executive power, to which it has no claim.

‘I confess I have not yet seen the smallest appearance of sincerity in the leaders of opposition, to come into the only mode by which I could tolerate them in my service;—their giving up the idea of having the administration in their hands; and coming in as a respectable part of one on a broad basis: and therefore I, with a jealous eye, look on any words dropped by them, either in parliament, or to the gentlemen of the St. Albans tavern, as meant only to gain those gentlemen; or, if carrying farther views, to draw Mr. Pitt by a negociation into some difficulty.’

After authorising the interview, his majesty proposed to send lord Sidney to the duke of Portland with a message drawn out on paper; at the same time adding, ‘should his grace refuse to meet Mr. Pitt, more especially on the strange plea which he has hitherto held out, I shall not deem it right ever to address myself to him again.’

The king’s message was delivered the same day to the duke, signifying ‘his majesty’s earnest desire that his grace should have a personal conference with Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of forming a new administration, on a wide basis, as well as on fair and equal terms.’ Opposition affected to consider this message as a virtual resignation of ministers, or as an abandonment of them by the sovereign: but another difficulty was started by the duke of Portland, who haughtily demanded, what was meant by the word ‘equal’ in the message? he did not object to the word ‘fair,’ which was a general term; but ‘equal’ was more specific and limited. Mr. Pitt’s answer naturally was, that the meaning of the word might be determined in a personal conference; but the other persisted in demanding a previous explanation; and as the minister was not a man to be brow-beaten into preliminary submission, the treaty was broken off *in limine*; and the St. Albans meeting passed a final resolution, which was unnoticed by either party; ‘that as the interview was prevented by a doubt respecting a single word, it would be no dishonorable step in either of the gentlemen to give way for the public welfare.’

On the twenty-fifth of February, the house presented its address to the king, which had been voted on the twentieth; but his majesty still exhibited the admirable firmness which he had hitherto displayed. He answered, by stating that he had heard no valid charge against the ministers of his appointment; that all proposals for a coalition had been rendered abortive,

though seconded by himself; and he could not discover that any public interest was likely to be promoted by the dismissal of his cabinet. 'Under these circumstances,' concluded his majesty, 'I trust my faithful commons will not wish that the essential offices of executive government should be vacated, until I see a prospect, that such a plan of union as I have called for, and they have pointed out, may be carried into effect.'

The efforts of opposition grew more violent as they became more hopeless: when the house met on the twenty-seventh to hear the king's answer, a motion was made for an adjournment, which would necessarily postpone the navy estimates: Mr. Pitt resisted this hazardous measure; and so clearly stated the evils which might arise from leaving the fleet to chance, that it was carried only by the small majority of seven: this so alarmed the party, that they made no attempt afterwards to obstruct the supplies. Fox evidently suspected from the first, that he should not be supported by the independent members in that measure; which will account for his wavering and inconsistent conduct regarding it: he now saw that his suspicions had been well founded.

On the day after this debate, the freedom of the city, already voted to Mr. Pitt, was presented to him in great state, at the house of lord Chatham in Berkley-square, from whence the committee conducted him, in the midst of general acclamations, to a grand dinner at the Grocers' hall. On his arrival, and taking the oath, Mr. Wilkes, then chamberlain of the city, addressed him in a speech of great length; and after lavishing very appropriate praise on the youthful minister, thus alluded to the parliamentary contest going on:—'I know, sir, how high you stand in the confidence of the public: much is to be done; but you have youth, capacity, and firmness: it is the characteristic of a true patriot, never to despair. Your noble father, sir, annihilated party; and I hope you will, in the end, bear down and conquer the hydra of faction, which now rears its hundred heads against you. I remember his saying, that, for the good of the people, he dared to look the proudest connexions of this country in the face: I trust that the same spirit animates his son; and as he has the same support of the crown and of the people, I am firmly persuaded that the same success will follow.'

Mr. Fox, however, did not even yet resign the contest, though he did not think proper to run the hazard of stopping the supplies: he now proposed and carried another address

to the king, in less general terms, directly asserting the right of the house of commons to advise his majesty on the exercise of his prerogative; and, by virtue of that right, specifically requesting him to dismiss his ministers. In the debate which followed, Mr. Pitt ably vindicated himself from having manifested any undue predilection in favor of the monarchical part of the government, and any wish to destroy or encroach on the privileges of parliament. The address was presented on the fourth of March. When the king's answer was read, repeating the same sentiments which he had constantly expressed on the subject, Mr. Fox attempted, by motions for adjournment, to impede the public business; and considering it essential to his interests that the members of the house should not be sent back to their constituents in the present change of public sentiment, he endeavored to prevent a dissolution of parliament by a short mutiny bill, to be passed from month to month. Against the dangerous consequences of this measure Mr. Pitt argued in vain: he was defeated on a motion for adjournment, which involved it, by 171 to 162: so small a majority, however, caused this measure, like that of stopping the supplies, to be abandoned. Nor could the contest be any longer protracted, against the undaunted firmness of the king, the unrivalled talent of the minister, and the increasing admiration of the people: Mr. Fox, however, determined to leave on the journals of the house a record of his long and singular resistance to the regal prerogative as well as the national will, and to lodge with his majesty this summary of the principles he had maintained, and the objects he had pursued. The rumor having gone abroad that very important proceedings were to take place on the eighth of March, the gallery was crowded at a very early hour; but no full and satisfactory report of them has been preserved, owing to the arbitrary conduct of Sir James Lowther, called by Junius 'the petty tyrant of the north,' who moved a standing order of the house, that no strangers should be received, unless introduced by members.¹⁸ Mr. Fox spoke with his usual ability, and more than usual violence. After accusing his antagonist of insolent and unconstitutional conduct; declaring that a union of parties was

¹⁸ He had arrived late with a friend whom he wished to introduce; and finding no seat vacant, made this ill-natured motion. Many members remonstrated; but in vain: he insisted on exercising his right, and the whole gallery was left in possession of his friend; while the reporters partook of the fate of those that were excluded.

now impossible ; and lamenting the disgrace and ruin brought on the country by the issue of this struggle ;—he moved, as his last measure, ‘ a humble representation to his majesty,’ expressing at great length the surprise and affliction of the house at receiving the answer to its address, which his ministers had advised him to return. This document, however it may be admired as a composition, contains so many contradictory principles, and is so easy of refutation, as to be cited in evidence against its author’s capacity for the ministerial office. It was accepted, after a long debate, by a majority of one vote, which was acknowledged as a defeat.

Mr. Pitt sent an account of the night’s proceedings to the king, and received the following prompt reply :—‘ Mr. Pitt’s letter is, undoubtedly, the most satisfactory I have received for many months. An avowal, on the outset, that the proposition held forth is not intended to go farther lengths than a kind of manifesto, and then carrying it by a majority of only one ; and the day concluded with an avowal that all negociation is at an end ;—give me every reason to hope, that, by a firm and proper conduct, this faction will, by degrees, be deserted by many, and at length be forgotten. I shall ever with pleasure consider, that by the prudence as well as rectitude of one person in the house of commons, this great change has been effected ; and that he will ever be able to reflect with satisfaction, that in having supported me, he has saved the constitution, the most perfect of human formation.’

On the following day the house went into a committee on the mutiny bill, which was carried for its usual duration of one year ; and Pitt’s triumph was complete. ‘ The house,’ observed Mr. Powys, ‘ was conquered ; for though a vote of the commons could once bestow a crown, it could not now procure the dismissal of a minister.’ In the instance, however, to which he alluded, he forgot that the people were joined with the house : in the present case, they were with Mr. Pitt ; who prevailed against the coalition by their aid, as Mr. Fox had prevailed against the ministry of lord North ; and thus, in the course of two years, we have two instances of the indirect, but unfailing power, which the people at large possess over the house of commons. The nation had not looked on this memorable struggle with indifference from the beginning : its feelings had gradually become stronger and warmer in favor of the undaunted monarch ; and its enthusiasm now burst forth to swell his triumph. Almost every city and considerable corporation in the kingdom, not under the influence of the adverse

party, presented addresses to the throne, thanking his majesty for dismissing his late administration, and declaring their resolution to support him in defence of the lawful rights of his crown: the minister also received numerous addresses, containing the most decided approbation of his conduct, and urging him to persevere in maintaining the true principles of the constitution. Mr. Pitt's victory was indeed complete: he had fought for a noble prize—the highest rank among European statesmen; and he had won it against the great leader of opposition in full prowess, backed by a crowd of daring and devoted adherents, historical names, comprehending as large a portion of rank, and opulence, and intelligence, as this country ever exhibited. He had won it, not more by his uncommon talents, and his steady intrepidity, than by his unshaken integrity and his disinterested patriotism; qualities which so strongly recommended him both to the king and to the people. At all times these high qualities were acknowledged and commended in Mr. Pitt, both by his adherents and his antagonists; and whatever may have been said of his haughtiness and habitual austerity of manners; his most desperate opponents, in the bitterest moments of defeat, extolled those virtues which often rendered their own efforts impotent and fruitless.

The time was now at hand for that appeal to the nation on which the minister had determined from the first; though he would no more be driven to it by the acts, than deterred from it by the menaces of his opponents. The house continued to meet every day, and the usual motions relative to the supplies were suffered to pass without any impediment; nor was any farther remark made on the mutiny bill in its remaining stages. Mr. Fox and his party hoped, that by acquiescing in the measures of government, they might induce Mr. Pitt not to dissolve parliament; or that the country might consider a dissolution, after all opposition was withdrawn, a needless and improper exercise of the prerogative:¹⁹ but Mr. Pitt was not to be diverted from his purpose: he was aware, that if the present parliament continued, his adversaries, though now passive, might come forward with renewed vigor on some future occasion; and the present disposition of the public mind was too much in his favor to neglect such an opportunity of strengthening his cause.

On the twelfth of March, Mr. Pitt voted in a minority on a motion of alderman Sawbridge, to inquire into the present

¹⁹ Tomline, vol. i. p. 442.

state of the representation ; after which, nothing important occurred in the house till the twenty-second, when the secretary at war moved the order of the day for a committee on the army estimates : Sir Grey Cooper then mentioned the general report of a dissolution, which he said would be daring and unwarrantable under present circumstances ; for though the army had been voted, it could not be legally paid until an appropriation act should have passed. On the following day, when the report of the committee of supply was to be brought up, Mr. Pitt was eagerly questioned on the subject by lord North, general Conway, and others ; but having made up his own mind, he remained contemptuously silent : no answer could be obtained ; and the report was allowed to be brought up. On the twenty-fourth, the king went down to the house of lords ; and, after giving the royal assent to several bills, delivered a decisive speech from the throne, in which he observed, that he felt it a duty which he owed to the constitution and the country, to recur as speedily as possible to his people, by calling a new parliament : he trusted that this measure would tend to obviate the mischiefs arising from the late unhappy divisions and distractions, and allow various important objects requiring deliberation, to proceed with less interruption and happier effect.

Next day the dissolution took place, and the new parliament was summoned to meet on the eighteenth of May. In the general election, Mr. Pitt was put into nomination for London, and importuned to stand for many other places, among which was the city of Bath, which his father had represented : but having immediately, in the first instance, offered himself for the university of Cambridge, he and his friend lord Euston prevailed there, against Mr. John Townshend and Mr. Mansfield, both of whom had opposed him in the late parliamentary struggle, and were supported by all the interest and exertions of the opposition. In most counties, where the electors were independent, a pledge to support Mr. Pitt was sufficient to ensure success against a candidate of different principles ; and the result was, that 160 of the old members of opposition lost their seats, and were designated by the appropriate term of ' Fox's martyrs.' Thus ended the great crisis of Mr. Pitt's political life : his star was now in the ascendant, while that of his rival set in gloom : with him a new era commenced in the annals of the constitution ; for by the steady courage and perseverance of William Pitt, the power of that aristocratic confederacy, whose bonds had been already loosened, was completely over-

thrown: the convulsive struggles of parliament altered in a great degree its character: the king had ceased to be in a state of pupillage, and the people had acquired importance: accordingly, the whigs, who in their best days had been strenuous supporters of the royal authority, now found their advantage in conciliating the people by advocating the most liberal principles. They had been an oligarchy of leading families, maintained and assisted by the influence of the crown, placed at their disposal: they now became a party in opposition, composed still of leading families, but mainly supported by the genius and eloquence of distinguished orators, who began to appeal boldly to the abstract rights of nature, and to canvass with great freedom those conventional laws which regulate society.

The prospect which lay before Mr. Pitt would have been appalling to a man of less talent, nerve, and integrity. He had to provide a government for our Indian empire; to restore trade; to make arrangements for paying the public debt; to regulate and augment the revenue; and to repair many other national interests nearly ruined by the American war: he had to contend in parliament against a powerful phalanx, with which the influence of the heir apparent to the throne was united; and it was necessary for him, considering the ground on which he stood, to pay assiduous court both to the king and to the people. During the first period of his administration, from his grand victory over Fox to the French revolution, he had this arduous part to play, and he played it well: after that event, the imprudence of opposition, who were enraptured with the proceedings of revolutionary France, gave him an accession of strength, which fixed him still more firmly in his seat. 'His whole history,' says a popular writer, with equal force and truth, 'substantiates in the clearest manner two principles of the highest importance to British statesmen of every period; that the nation eminently honors political manliness; and that no rank or ability, destitute of moral worth, can possess a permanent ascendancy in the general mind.'

CHAP. XXVIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1784.

Meeting of a new parliament—Conduct of the high bailiff of Westminster canvassed—Acts to prevent smuggling—Budget of 1784—Bill for the regulation of the East India company introduced by Mr. Pitt—Carried—Bill passed for the restoration of forfeited estates in Scotland—Great popularity of Mr. Pitt—Domestic events—Attempt of the emperor Joseph to open the navigation of the Scheldt—Opening of parliament—The minister left in a minority—Mr. Pitt introduces a new measure of parliamentary reform—Is defeated—Financial improvements adopted by the minister—Budget of 1785—Affairs of Ireland—Resolutions for adjusting the commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms passed in both houses—but not sanctioned by the Irish legislature—Mortification of Mr. Pitt on this occasion—Popular meetings in Ireland, and prosecutions by government—Affairs on the continent.

WHEN parliament assembled on the eighteenth of May, and a motion was made for the appointment of a speaker, Mr. Fox took occasion to complain that the representation of the people was incomplete, owing to the want of two persons to serve for Westminster. Mr. Fox himself had a majority on the poll over Sir Cecil Wray; but the high bailiff, by an unwarrantable partiality, refused to make a return in his favor; for which an action was afterwards brought in the court of king's bench, and a verdict with large damages obtained. After the division that took place on the address, in which the ministers had a large majority, this subject was again introduced by Mr. Lee, late attorney-general, who moved a resolution, that the 'high bailiff of Westminster, on the day when the writ of election expired, ought to have returned two members to serve in parliament for that city.' A violent debate ensued; and the previous question having been moved by Sir Lloyd Kenyon, it was ordered that the returning officer should attend the house on the following day. The sole pretext on which he rested his defence, was, that having reason to suspect the validity of many votes, taken during a poll which lasted six weeks, he had granted a scrutiny; before the termination of which, he could not in conscience make a return: but to this an answer presented itself; that the scrutiny

is nothing more than a revision of the poll by the returning officer; and if such revision cannot be completed before the period at which the writ is returnable, he is bound by his office and oath to make the return agreeably to the poll, as actually taken: otherwise, elections would be thrown into the hands of the returning officer, who might prevent, for an indefinite term, the admission into parliament of any person obnoxious to the administration. After pleadings at the bar by counsel, the motion was renewed, 'that the high bailiff be directed to make the return forthwith;' but this was resisted by the minister and his supporters, with whom, on this occasion, the principle of party spirit, and perhaps of revenge, prevailed over a sense of justice; and on a division, it was negatived by 195 to 117: a motion was then made and carried, for the high bailiff to proceed in the scrutiny with all practicable despatch. On the sixteenth of June, Mr. alderman Sawbridge moved for the appointment of a committee, 'to inquire into the present state of the representation of the commons in parliament;' but as this motion seemed both calculated and designed to embarrass the new minister, rather than to promote the object proposed, Mr. Pitt truly stated that the time was improper; at the same time observing, that the measure had his approbation, and that he would himself bring it before the house early next session: accordingly, the previous question was carried by a majority of seventy-four.

Two subjects, at this period, demanded his immediate attention; the revenue of the country, and the state of the East India company. In the case of the former, it appeared that there was a deficiency of £2,000,000 a year, which was principally owing to a failure in the estimated produce of taxes imposed by lord North during the American war: there also existed an enormous unfunded debt, which was to be funded, and the interest to be provided for; so that the deficiency could scarcely be reckoned at less than £3,000,000, without any allowance for a sinking fund: in addition to this, the three per cents were rather lower than fifty-seven, although peace had been firmly established for more than a year. Under such melancholy circumstances, it was a matter of urgent necessity to improve the income of the country, and to raise public credit, not only by imposing new taxes, but by rendering those that existed more productive.

Mr. Pitt was convinced that nothing would tend more to promote the latter of these objects, than the suppression of smuggling, which was carried on to an almost incredible

extent; it being calculated that 40,000 persons were engaged in it, who set all law and authority at defiance. In the prosecution, therefore, of this plan, he thought it expedient, first to introduce a bill to prevent smuggling in general; and next to propose regulations applicable to those articles which formed its principal support.

By the provisions of his general bill, the right of seizing certain vessels with their cargoes, under peculiar circumstances, was greatly extended; the building of such vessels was prohibited; armed ships were obliged to procure licenses; the rules respecting clearance were enlarged; and the act of shooting at his majesty's ships and officers, or at persons assisting them in the execution of their duty, was made a capital felony. The principle of this bill was approved by both houses, and it passed without a division. In aid of it, Mr. Pitt brought forward two others; the one directed against the contraband trade in tea, and the other against that in spirits. Tea was considered the staple commodity of the smuggling trade; more than 7,000,000 pounds of that article being thus introduced into the country every year, while about 5,500,000 only were sold by the East India company; so that tea-companies were formed on the continent, for the purpose of supplying our smugglers; and the very servants of our own company remitted to Europe their acquired wealth, by means of tea sent in foreign vessels, consigned to foreign companies, and afterwards smuggled into England.

To remove the strong temptation that existed to purchase smuggled tea, it was necessary to enable the fair trader to compete with the smuggler; and this could only be done by reducing the duties, so as to leave them no more than equal to the expense of smuggling. Mr. Pitt's plan, therefore, was to repeal all the present duties on tea, and subject the different sorts to a duty of twelve and a half per cent, according to their respective prices: this reduced duty was calculated to produce about £170,000 per annum; which would occasion a loss to the revenue of between £500,000 and £600,000: to compensate therefore for such a defalcation, he proposed to increase the tax on windows; and so to arrange it, that by this commutation, every individual, who now bought tea legally imported, would be a gainer,¹ as well as the public revenue.

¹ For instance, the master of a house with nine windows, which would pay 10s. 6d., might be supposed to consume annually seven

All houses, which did not pay to church and poor, were to be wholly exempted; so that the lower classes would receive an undivided benefit. The new tax on windows, and the duty intended to be retained on tea, would together produce £900,000; so that to the revenue would accrue an annual profit of near £200,000, without considering the increase that might be expected in the consumption of tea: hence great benefit would arise to the East India company, which would be enabled to employ additional ships and seamen, while the whole profit of the trade would be confined to this country and the fair dealers. A vigorous but unavailing opposition was made to this bill by Mr. Fox; but it passed the lower house by a large majority, and the upper with only one short debate.

The same observation, which was made respecting the high duties on tea, was applicable to those on spirits; with regard to which, great frauds were committed on the distilleries at home: Mr. Pitt therefore brought forward a bill, by which the duties payable on British spirits were regulated and enforced, while those on foreign spirits were considerably reduced: as this was considered an experiment, under the expectation that increased consumption would fully compensate for the reduction of duty, no substitute was proposed; but the act was to continue in force only two years. These bills were received with general approbation by the country, and fully answered the purpose for which they were intended; offending only those who were interested in the continuance of an illicit traffic.

On the thirtieth of June, Mr. Pitt brought forward what is called the budget, which included the subject of taxation;—an irksome duty: but he had the comfort of reflecting, that the necessities which demanded it were not of his creation. The topics discussed in his speech, were the services of the present year; the ways and means for defraying the expenses of those services; the loan; the funding a part of the unfunded debt; and new taxes.

For the current services of the year, besides the ordinary sources of income, a loan of £6,000,000 was found requisite; and this, which had been made a source of patronage and gain

pounds of tea: the difference of the old and new duties on this would be £1. 5s. 10d.; consequently such person would save 15s. 4d. by the commutation.

to the friends of ministers, was now laid open to public competition: the biddings were sent in, sealed up; and, being opened in the presence of the governor and deputy-governor of the Bank, Mr. Pitt accepted those which were the lowest, without reserving to himself the disposal of a single shilling. The navy and victualling bills, with the ordnance debentures, which formed a considerable part of the unfunded debt, amounted at this time to near £14,000,000: Mr. Pitt was desirous of funding the whole of this sum; but, at the suggestion of the monied men, he gave way, and funded only £6,600,000; lest, if the larger quantity of stock should come at once into the market, it might depress prices, and cause the bargains, both for the loan and for the unfunded debt, to be made on worse terms. As he wisely thought that in every financial operation redemption at a future time ought to be kept in view, he determined in this instance to try the experiment of a five per cent fund: he wished also to make the loan in the same: but the money-lenders had a great aversion to a high fund; as they were persuaded, from the circumstance of its being more easily redeemed, that it would never bear a price proportionate to the lower funds: according to existing prices of stock, a five per cent fund ought to have been at ninety-five; but, in his calculation, Mr. Pitt took it only at ninety-three: thus the public paid about 2s. per cent interest more than would have been paid on a three per cent fund, for the probability of making the redemption hereafter on better terms. As a farther inducement to the holders of bills and debentures to subscribe to this new fund, he made it irredeemable, and the interest irreducible for thirty years, or till £25,000,000 of the existing funds should be extinguished. There still remained in the market £7,000,000 in bills and debentures, which bore an interest at four per cent, amounting to £280,000, while that of the new fund required an interest of rather more than £315,000: this, added to the interest of the new loan, created a charge to the country of £910,000 per annum; and Mr. Pitt undertook to find taxes, exhausted as the country was, which should produce that sum. Those proposed were on hats, ribands, gauzes, coals, horses, linens and calicoes, candles, licenses to dealers in exciseable articles, bricks and tiles, paper, certificates to kill game, and hackney coaches. 'It would be idle,' he said, 'to suppose that all the taxes in this long catalogue were unexceptionable; but the necessities of the public did not leave it in his option to deal otherwise than openly and fairly: the wants of government

were many; the finances of the country had been much reduced; and it was proper to look our real situation manfully in the face:’ under that impression, he produced the list, to which he invited the deliberation and assistance of the committee: he had disguised nothing from the public which affected their real interest; and however great the risk he ran of incurring popular odium, he had not shrunk from a painful act of duty.

The readiness and perspicuity with which the chancellor of the exchequer went through this mass of financial detail and dry calculation, his extensive and minute information on every point which he discussed, the manly spirit with which he met the difficulties of the country, and the exertions he made to improve the revenue and public credit, gained for him the applause even of his most determined political opponents: with regard to his management of the unfunded debt, Mr. Fox declared that ‘too much praise could not be given him.’ The only tax which met with decided disapprobation was that on coals, as oppressive to the poor and injurious to our manufactures; on which account Mr. Pitt was induced to abandon it: he also relinquished his intention of including hops in the exciseable articles, for which a license was to be required: in the room of these, he substituted taxes on gold and silver plate, lead exported, race-horses, licenses to sell ale, and postage of letters: he also introduced regulations regarding the privilege of franking, calculated to increase the revenue of the post-office. Mr. Pitt had now reached the summit of popularity, and the public anxiously expected his plan for the government of India: having by two preliminary bills extricated the company from its difficulties, and restored its sinking credit, he introduced, on the sixth of July, a bill founded on the general principles of that rejected by the former parliament, and to which the company had now given their slow and reluctant consent. The bill may be considered under three separate heads:—a new establishment at home, with powers extending over the general concerns of the company; regulations to be applied in India; and the erection of a court in England, for the trial of offences committed in the East. Under the first head, a board of control was to be formed of a certain number of commissioners; six to be of the rank of privy counsellors, comprising the chancellor of the exchequer and one secretary of state; and four others holding offices of such emolument under government as precluded the necessity of a salary: the members of this board, to be appointed by the king, and removable

at his pleasure, were authorised to check, superintend, and control the civil and military government as well as the revenue of the company: the despatches transmitted by the court of directors to the different presidencies, were to be subjected to their inspection, and also countersigned by them: the directors were enjoined to pay due obedience to the orders of this board, respecting civil and military government and revenues; but in case such orders should at any time, in the opinion of the directors, relate to matters not connected with these points, they were allowed to appeal to his majesty in council, whose decision was declared final. With regard to the regulations applicable to India, Mr. Pitt proposed, that the government in each of the three stations should consist of a president and three counsellors; that the president of Bengal should be governor-general of India, the commander in chief being one of the council, and next in rank to the governor-general; also, that the commanders in chief at Madras and Bombay should take similar rank at each of those stations. The supreme government of Bengal was to have an effectual control over the other presidencies: the appointment of governors, commanders in chief, and other members of council was to be vested in the directors; but either the king or the court of directors might recall the governor-general, or any other person employed by the company. All promotions, civil and military, below the degree of counsellor, were to be made according to seniority, and in a regular progressive succession, unless for some urgent case, to be transmitted to the directors: each government was empowered to apprehend persons suspected of carrying on illicit correspondence, and bring them to trial in India, or send them to England. To prevent the projects of unruly ambition, the supreme government was not permitted to enter into any offensive treaty, or to make war, without the express command of the directors, against any power which had not commenced, or given evident proof of its intention to commence hostilities. Various other provisions were inserted, especially some relating to the settlement of disputes with the nabob of Arcot, and redressing complaints of injustice and oppression exercised against the zemindars, who had been dispossessed of their lands, or subjected to exorbitant demands. The ages at which writers and cadets should be appointed were regulated; also the number proper to be sent out: the acceptance of presents was prohibited; and all servants of the company, returning to Eng-

land after the first of January, 1787, were required to deliver on oath, within two months after their arrival, two copies of an inventory of all their property, specifying what part was not acquired in India. With regard to the last head, a high tribunal was created for the trial of Indian delinquents, consisting of three judges, one from each court; of four peers, and six members of the house of commons, who were authorised to act without appeal; to award, in case of conviction, the punishment of fine and imprisonment; and to declare the party convicted incapable of serving the company again. No person, holding any office under the crown during pleasure, or who had ever been in the Indian service, could be a member of the court. Such were the grand and leading features of this celebrated bill. Fox exerted all his powers of discrimination to point out defects: he observed, 'that it established a weak and inefficient government, by dividing its powers: to the one board belonged the privilege of ordering and contriving measures; to the other that of carrying them into execution. Theories which did not connect men with measures, were not theories for this world: the new tribunal he stigmatised as a screen for delinquents; as an unconstitutional violation of the sacred right of trial by jury. Since no man was to be tried but on the accusation of the company or the attorney-general, he had only to conciliate government in order to remain in perfect security: it was a part of the general system of deception and delusion; and he would venture to pronounce it a 'bed of justice,' where justice would for ever sleep.' With regard to the East India charter, Mr. Fox insisted that it was violated by this bill as much as by his own; whereas, on this important point, the difference was most striking: the one bill in fact left commerce in the hands of the company, while the other took it away: Mr. Fox's bill abolished the court of directors, and vested the whole patronage of India in the commissioners; while Mr. Pitt's was only a partial deviation from their charter, making such changes as their own and the public interests demanded: Mr. Fox's bill erected an *imperium in imperio*, the commissioners of his board being independent on his majesty's ministers, and possessing a dangerous influence in matters of war and policy; but Mr. Pitt's merely gave to the crown the same sway over its Indian, as it exercised over its other dependencies; ensuring a regular and systematic control over all the political affairs of that vast territory.

Many other objections were started; and, as might have been

expected in so extensive and important a measure, several amendments made. The chief debate on the principle of the bill took place on the day fixed for going into a committee, when the motion for the speaker's leaving the chair was vehemently opposed, but carried by a majority of 271 to 60. On communicating to the king the result of this debate, the minister received a very sensible and satisfactory letter from his sovereign, expressing his hopes that this measure might lay a foundation for correcting, by degrees, those enormities in India, which disgraced human nature, and threatened the expulsion of the company from that wealthy region. 'I have the more confidence,' said his majesty, 'from knowing Mr. Pitt's good sense, which will make him not expect that the present experiment shall at once prove perfect; but, by an attentive eye, and inclination to do what is right, he will be willing, as occasions arise, to make such improvements, as may gradually bring this arduous work to some degree of perfection.'²

The bill was carried triumphantly to the house of lords; where, after an opposition vigorous in point of exertion, but insignificant in regard to numbers, it passed on the ninth of August, accompanied by a protest from lord Carlisle and other peers; which branded it, as ineffectual in its provisions, unjust in its inquisitorial spirit, and unconstitutional in its partial abolition of the trial by jury.

Beside these bills, which were brought forward by Mr. Pitt himself, there was a variety of other business in the present session, in which he took an active part; and the ability and knowledge displayed by him completely silenced those who before were continually objecting to his youth and inexperience: no one now ventured to reproach him with undertaking a task to which he was unequal; while all allowed that no statesman ever had a greater weight to sustain.

Before the session closed, Mr. Dundas brought before the house a very popular measure, in a motion to restore many estates in Scotland to the heirs of those who had forfeited them in the rebellions of 1715 and 1745; as there was scarcely an attainted family, in which some person had not fully atoned for the crimes of his ancestors; and the highlanders in general were now as loyal as any class of his majesty's subjects. As it was not meant to free these estates from the claims existing against them at the time of forfeiture, which would be establishing a

² Tomline, vol. i. p. 541.

premium for rebellion ; the mover proposed that such sums, amounting to about £80,000, should be appropriated to public purposes ; and £50,000 was destined to be employed in the completion of the grand canal joining the frith of Forth to that of Clyde. This liberal measure was eulogised by Fox, and received generally in a manner which did honor to the feelings of the house ; but when sent to the lords, it met with a decided opposition from lord chancellor Thurlow, who descanted with much satisfaction on that maxim of ancient wisdom, which punished treason by the total extirpation of the fortune, name, and family of the traitor : however, on a division, this nobleman was left in a minority ; the bill passed with the intire approbation of the public ; and the session closed on the twentieth of August.

The power of the new minister was now fully established : he had baffled the utmost exertions of his opponents ; he enjoyed the favor of his sovereign ; and had acquired a very considerable share of popularity. Determined not to descend from this high station, he employed the remainder of the year in preparing and maturing the plans which he intended to submit to parliament in the ensuing session ; and enjoyed the satisfaction of learning that his measures for the improvement of the revenue were successful beyond his expectation.

This year was marked by some memorable events unconnected with political affairs. On the twenty-fourth of March, the great seal of England was stolen from the house of lord chancellor Thurlow ; and on the twenty-fourth of May, a grand jubilee, in commemoration of Handel, was celebrated in Westminster-abbey, under the especial patronage of his majesty : upwards of 600 performers were engaged, and the performances were repeated in June following : the total receipts amounted to £12,736. 12s. 10d., and the profits were divided among various charitable institutions. On the fifteenth of July, Sunday schools were first opened at Gloucester by the benevolent Mr. R. Raikes ; and on the fifteenth of September, Mr. Lunardi made his first ascent in a balloon, from the Artillery-ground in London. Literature this year lost one of its brightest ornaments in Dr. Samuel Johnson, who died in his seventy-sixth year, after a tedious and painful illness, which he bore with a fortitude and resignation worthy of his other virtues. Among the promotions that took place, Sir James Lowther was made earl of Lonsdale, and lord Shelburne advanced to the marquise of Lansdowne : nor did Mr.

Pitt neglect to strengthen his interest in the upper house by many other creations.

The most remarkable occurrence on the continent was the attempt of the emperor Joseph to open the navigation of the Scheldt: this project, however, was counteracted by the resolute conduct of the States General, who entered into a treaty for that purpose with Prussia, Sweden, and France. Though the finances of this latter country began to feel severely the expenses of the late war, and Louis had quietly allowed the emperor to carry several points against French interests; yet this ambitious project demanded vigorous measures: accordingly, an army of 80,000 men was prepared to co-operate with the allies, if necessary.

It was under expectations of a continental war that the British parliament met on the twenty-fifth of January, 1785, though the king's speech expressed no apprehension of being involved in it. His majesty alluded to the success attending the financial measures of the last session, as an encouragement for parliament to renew the consideration of such salutary objects; and he particularly recommended to its attention the adjustment of some points in the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland. The addresses in both houses were carried without a division.

The first business brought before the commons was the Westminster scrutiny, which occupied a large portion of time, and occasioned some very acrimonious debates: it proved a very unpleasant and distressing business to Mr. Pitt, who, it is said,³ was induced to engage in it from a persuasion, that within a reasonable time a decided majority of legal votes would be substantiated in favor of Sir Cecil Wray: but the slow progress, the immense trouble and expense, the outcry raised against the unrepresented state of Westminster, the charge of persecution imputed to government, and some other causes, created a change of sentiment in many of Mr. Pitt's friends; so that when alderman Sawbridge, on the third of March, moved to put an end to the scrutiny, the minister, who proposed an adjournment, was left in a minority of thirty-eight; the motion was carried without a division; and next day the high bailiff returned lord Hood and Mr. Fox as elected. Nevertheless, the house, while it condemned the measure as inexpedient, still maintained its legality; for when Mr. Francis, on the ninth of March, made a motion for expunging the re-

³ Tomline, vol. ii. p. 25.

solution of the eighth of June preceding, by which the scrutiny was authorised, he was left in a minority of 137 against 242.

Public attention, however, was soon transferred from these petty proceedings, to subjects of great national importance, calculated to draw forth all the abilities of a statesman. Inheriting from his father a tendency to support popular rights, Mr. Pitt had been selected by the friends of reform, as the fittest person to bring forward a motion for purifying the house of commons; and although he had twice failed in his attempts, he still determined to persevere. The plan which he now prepared for this purpose appeared plausible and ingenious, cautiously modified and circumscribed, providing a more than adequate compensation for vested interests, and offering nothing to alarm those who connected the reformation of abuses with the destruction of ancient institutions.

Knowing the aversion felt by his royal master to disturb this part of our constitution, Mr. Pitt laid the heads of his plan before the king, whose answer to this communication was dictated by that honesty and sincerity, which so strongly marked his character. 'Mr. Pitt,' he says, 'must recollect, that though I have ever thought it unfortunate that he had early engaged himself in this measure; yet I have always said, that as he was clear of its propriety, he ought to lay his thoughts before the house; that out of personal regard to him, I would avoid giving an opinion to any one, on the opening of the door to parliamentary reform, except to him: therefore I am certain Mr. Pitt cannot suspect me of influencing any person on this occasion. If others choose, for base ends, to impute such a conduct to me, I must bear it, as former false suggestions.'

The leading feature of this bill was, that the choice of legislators ought to be confined to those who have an interest in their acts, and therefore attached as much as possible to property. That principle being established, and it being also determined not to increase the number of members in the house of commons, it was necessary to disfranchise certain decayed boroughs, in order to form a fairer proportion between county and borough representatives; and to give the elective franchise to some considerable towns, which either had no votes at all, or fewer representatives than their importance demanded. It was proposed therefore that thirty-six boroughs, each sending two members to parliament, should be deprived of that privilege; and in their room, the different counties, and the metropolis, should

elect seventy-two additional members; also that copyholders should vote for county members as well as freeholders. Besides, as in the lapse of time and fluctuation of human affairs, other boroughs might become decayed, provision was made for transferring their members to populous and flourishing towns: and to prevent any doubt on this subject, a definite number of houses was to be the criterion of a decayed borough. Disavowing however any idea of compulsion, Mr. Pitt proposed that no borough should be disfranchised against its will; nor was a voluntary surrender of its rights to be expected without an adequate consideration: a fund therefore was to be established for the purpose of remunerating the proprietors of boroughs that were disfranchised; and if any one refused to surrender this species of property, the money was to be placed out at compound interest, until it became an irresistible bait to himself or his successor.

Such was the outline of Mr. Pitt's bill, which contained nothing that could alarm the most timid patriot; for while it tended to introduce more wisdom and integrity into the national council, its operation would only be exerted from time to time, as cases arose: a clear and permanent rule for perpetual improvement in the representation of the country was laid down, equally applicable to the present and to future periods; and so far from giving sanction to any vague and chimerical schemes of reform, that it had a manifest tendency to prevent them.

The most important animadversion in the debate to which this motion gave rise, was made by Mr. Fox against what was denominated property, or private inheritance, acquired by a violation of the spirit of the constitution: justly distinguishing between a property and a trust, he strongly objected to the idea of purchasing the franchises of boroughs, which from their insignificance were no longer entitled to send members to parliament: 'whatever,' he said, 'was given for constitutional purposes, should be resumed when those purposes were no longer answered.' With this, and some other less important exceptions, he bestowed on Mr. Pitt's plan a very just and liberal tribute of praise.

But it was not by Mr. Fox and his party that the minister had the mortification, if it was any mortification, to have his plan defeated. Mr. Powys, as the organ of those who had an interest in perpetuating the abuses which Mr. Pitt designed to correct, reprobated and ridiculed his scheme, as 'the mere knight-errantry of a political Quixote:' he considered it a

precedent and an excitement to the wildest and most paradoxical nostrums that speculative theorists could devise: they got by it what Archimedes wished for;—a foundation for their inventions; a *fulcrum*, from which they could throw the parliament and constitution of England into the air. He could not contemplate the scheme with any degree of patience: he should not, therefore, treat it with the ceremony of calling for the order of the day; but, as its purposes were so hostile to the constitution, so menacing and unqualified, he would meet the question in front by giving it a direct and unequivocal contradiction. After a long debate, in which self-interest and prejudice had much more weight than sound argument, the bill was rejected by a majority of 248 to 174 voices.

Whether Mr. Pitt was sincere in his wishes to carry this measure, it is difficult to determine: whatever may be thought of his respect for vested rights in the traffic of a momentous trust, his selection of the voluntary principle seems to denote considerable lukewarmness in the cause of reform. Nothing, however, can be inferred against his sincerity from his want of success; for, as the king observed in the letter above alluded to, ‘the conduct of his friends on the Westminster scrutiny showed that there are questions, which men will not by friendship be biassed to adopt.’ Neither can we draw any conclusion from his subsequent opposition to parliamentary reform; for amidst the new bearings and relations which political questions assumed, the object could scarcely be considered as attainable: besides, there can be no doubt, but that the machine, as then constituted, worked far better for a minister in Mr. Pitt’s situation, than if it had been cleared of those excrescences which time and circumstances had produced.

The manner, however, in which the minister conducted his financial measures during this session, deserves unqualified approbation. After the great exhaustion occasioned by the American contest, no department required more constant inspection and revision than that of the revenue: it was from this source, above all others, that England was to assume that vigor at home and influence abroad, which might enable her to resist, and finally subdue, that spirit of evil, which had even now begun to work.

In consequence of the very able reports presented from time to time by the commissioners appointed under an act of parliament, Mr. Pitt brought in three several bills for the better keeping and auditing of the public accounts, as well as for regulating and reforming the public offices; all which passed

both houses with much applause and scarcely any opposition. The balances of the navy and ordnance offices were thereby ordered, like those of the paymaster of the forces by a former regulation, to be paid into the Bank, instead of being retained in the hands of the treasurers: it was shown that in some cases these balances had been thus retained for a period of forty years after the treasurers themselves were out of office; and at the present time there were four distinct accounts of as many treasurers of the navy open at the pay-office. The ancient mode of proceeding by the auditors of the imprest was abolished, as wholly useless; though the salary of these two officers in some years amounted to the sum of £32,000, while their duty was done by deputies and clerks; the whole system being open to fraud and collusion, and affording no check or control over the expenditure of the public money. Commissioners were also appointed to inquire into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments in various departments; and the whole now assumed the appearance of a regular and rational system.

Mr. Pitt at this time mentioned to the house, that from an inquiry which had been instituted into the accounts of different persons, from whom the enormous sum of £40,000,000 sterling was due to the public, £257,000 was ready to be paid into the exchequer, which might be applied to the service of the present year; also that farther sums would be recovered as the examination of accounts proceeded. The first regular discussion which took place respecting the general state of the finances, was on the eleventh of April; when Mr. Pitt moved for an account of the net produce of the taxes, in the quarters ending January 5th and April 5th, 1784 and 1785; and he took that opportunity of informing the house, that the bills passed last session for the prevention of smuggling, and the regulations adopted for the collection and management of the different branches of revenue, together with the extension of trade and commerce, had already produced so great an increase in the produce of the taxes, as to justify a reasonable expectation that the income of the country would, in the next year, be not only equal to the expenditure, but afford a surplus which might be applied to the gradual liquidation of the national debt.

On the ninth of May Mr. Pitt opened the budget, and observed, that the effects of the late calamitous war were felt in the expenses of the current year, from the necessity of fulfilling contracts entered into before the signature of the preliminary treaty. The supplies which had been voted amounted to

£9,737,868, and the ways and means fell short of that sum by about £1,000,000; which, therefore, was to be provided for. The low state of the funds,⁴ and the probability of a rise before next session, inclined him not to borrow the money and create stock in the ordinary way, but to obtain it from the Bank, on exchequer bills at five per cent; by which means, not only would the rate of interest be rather less; but the Bank would lend the money as it might be wanted, and charge interest only on the sums from the time they were advanced. The navy and ordnance debts amounted to more than £10,000,000; and as the quantity of navy bills and ordnance debentures in circulation was the chief cause which depressed the funds, he determined to fund the whole of them: for this purpose he chose a five per cent stock, for the sake of its more easy redemption; and he mentioned, that in funding £10,000,000, on the terms stipulated with the bill-holders, stock would be created to the amount of £11,140,000; the interest of this, with the expenses of management, would be about £563,000: but as an interest of four per cent on £6,000,000, amounting to £240,000, had been provided in the last session, there remained, on this account, only £323,000 to be now raised: to this sum must be added £50,000 as interest on the £1,000,000 to be borrowed of the Bank; and £40,000 on account of the repeal of the duty on cotton stuffs, which had taken place this session, being found injurious to our manufacturers: the whole sum, therefore, to be raised was £413,000; for which purpose he proposed an additional tax on post horses, and one on male servants, increasing according to the number kept; also taxes on female servants, shops, pawnbrokers, and gloves; with a diminution in the allowance made on salt carried coastwise.

Strenuous opposition was made in the house to many of these taxes, especially those on shops and female servants, which were very unpopular: the bills, however, enacting them, were carried, after several divisions; but the modifications introduced by the chancellor of the exchequer, in order to obviate some of the principal objections, were likely to render them less productive than he originally expected: to supply this deficiency, taxes on attorneys, and on warrants of arrest, were proposed; also the game duty was increased, and coachmakers were obliged to take out a license. Mr. Pitt estimated the produce of these imposts at rather more than

⁴ Three per cent consols were at 58.

£413,000 ; and he observed that their collection would be attended with very little expense, there being no necessity for the appointment of a single new officer.

Thus did Mr. Pitt restore the dilapidated finances of his country, and lay the foundation of that extraordinary prosperity, which raised it to the highest rank among nations : nor did his acute and active mind suffer the present session to pass over, without endeavoring to allay the discontents of the sister kingdom, the state of which had long occupied his anxious attention. The duke of Rutland had been appointed lord-lieutenant in February, 1784 ; and from the time of his arrival in Dublin, no important step was taken without Mr. Pitt's advice and direction : but although that formidable spirit of turbulence and innovation, which threatened the most serious consequences, was checked for the present ; it was manifest, that nothing but a complete change in the commercial relations of the two countries could afford effectual relief, and render Ireland permanently tranquil. During the prorogation of parliament therefore in that year, he spent a very considerable time in deliberation with the most intelligent persons, respecting a new plan of commercial intercourse ; notice of his intention being given to the large trading or manufacturing towns of both kingdoms, and a committee of privy counsellors appointed to receive their information or suggestions.

The result of these conferences was brought before the Irish house of commons by the lord-lieutenant's secretary, Mr. Orde, on the seventh of February, 1785 ; and four days afterwards, eleven propositions were passed, as the foundation of a just and equitable intercourse : on the sixteenth they met with the concurrence of the Irish house of lords ; and being transmitted, with a joint address, to the king, were presented by Mr. Pitt to the British parliament, on the twenty-second of the same month : when they had been read, the minister called the attention of the house to the very important topic which they embraced, in a very luminous and able speech. After observing, that from the revolution to a period within the memory of his hearers, the system established between the two countries had been, to make Ireland intirely subservient to the interests and opulence of England, without suffering her to profit either by the bounties of nature, or the skill of her own inhabitants, and without enabling her to contribute to the common welfare and strength of the empire ;—he declared, that it was not to be expected, but that Ireland, when by the

more enlarged policy of the present age, she had acquired an independent legislature, would instantly export her produce and manufactures to foreign markets: she did so: nor was this all: England, without any bargain or compact, generously admitted her to a share of her colonial trade. This was done some years ago; but to this moment, the intercourse between England and Ireland themselves remained on the old footing, except in a few trivial points: no material alteration had been made in the exportation of British manufactures to Ireland, or in the importation of Irish manufactures into Great Britain: hence it was, that great dissatisfaction existed in Ireland, and suggestions were circulated for subjecting our produce and manufactures, to what were termed 'protecting duties,' for the purpose of preventing their introduction into the country.

Having thus far abandoned the old system of commercial domination; having wisely and justly put the Irish people into a state of profiting by the gifts of nature, and the productions of their own skill; no one, said Mr. Pitt, could wish or expect the immediate communication between the two kingdoms, regarding trade, to continue exactly as it was: there were, indeed, but two possible systems for countries situated, in relation to each other, like England and Ireland: the one was to make the smaller completely subordinate and subservient to the greater; the other was to allow to each a just participation of advantages for the benefit of both. A system, however, of commercial equality, in which there was to be a community of benefits, demanded also a community of burdens: in all former commercial concessions to Ireland, no stipulation had been made for any return: there had been gratuitous surrenders of advantages, without looking to the slightest compensation. In this respect, Mr. Pitt's system differed from those of his predecessors, being founded on a sounder policy of reciprocal benefits: this system therefore he proceeded to explain, as contained in the resolutions transmitted from Ireland, and which consisted of three general heads:—first, it was proposed, that all foreign articles directly imported into Great Britain, should hereafter be importable, under suitable provisions, through the medium of Ireland; secondly, that all articles, the produce or manufacture of either country, should be importable into the other, under a proper regulation of countervailing duties, drawbacks, and bounties; thirdly, that Ireland, in return for these benefits, should contribute to the expense of maintaining the colonies, and protecting the commerce of the empire; and that her contribution

should be of such a nature, as to keep pace with the gain derived from the new system; the surplus of the hereditary revenue, above its present produce, being appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire.

Having thus exhibited an outline of his plan, Mr. Pitt moved a preliminary resolution, 'for finally adjusting the commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms; admitting Ireland to an irrevocable participation in the commercial advantages of England; and securing, in return, a permanent aid from that country, in protecting the commercial interests of the empire.' The consideration of this important motion was however deferred for a week, in order to give time for the reception of accounts and estimates: it was intimated also that farther delay would be acceded to, if there should appear sufficient reason for its proposal.

In the mean time, great apprehensions and jealousies were excited in the commercial circles of Great Britain; especially as active endeavors were made by the opponents of administration to convince the public that the mercantile and manufacturing interests of this kingdom were intended to be sacrificed to those of Ireland. The alarm became general, every one fancying that his own particular branch of trade would be ruined; numerous petitions were presented to the house; and two months were occupied in hearing evidence on the subject, in examining the most minute details, and collecting the fullest information.

Mr. Pitt, after the most impartial attention to all the facts and arguments that were adduced, felt convinced that he might safely persevere in his design, without danger to the commerce or revenue of Great Britain; though the inquiries and discussions which had taken place enabled him to render his plan more complete, and better suited to the accomplishment of its object. Willingly availing himself therefore of this advantage, he submitted to the house, on the twelfth of May, the whole system matured and improved, in twenty resolutions; some of which were only explanatory of, or supplemental to, the original clauses; but others related to subjects altogether new. These latter provided, that all the navigation laws then in force, or which might hereafter be established in Great Britain, should be enacted by the Irish legislature; that no West Indian produce, except that of our own colonies, should be imported into Ireland; and that Ireland should not be allowed to trade to the East Indies, so long as the company's charter continued: there were also regulations respecting patents, copy-

right in books, and the right of fishing on the coasts of the British dominions.

Mr. Pitt explained fully the nature and tendency of the whole series of resolutions ; displaying very enlarged and comprehensive views of the general principles of trade and commerce, and ingeniously applying them to the circumstances of the two countries. A very long debate ensued, in which lord North moved for an immediate adjournment, which was lost by a majority of 281 to 155, and the first resolution was passed : when the second was proposed, Mr. Pelham moved an adjournment, which was rejected by 249 against 125 ; and the resolution, as moved by Mr. Pitt, was carried at six o'clock in the morning ; after which the house adjourned. In this and other debates that followed on the remaining resolutions, numerous objections were urged by the members of opposition, among whom Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan took leading parts, in accordance at once with the prejudices of English manufacturers, and the feelings of Irish patriots : the former affected to regard the measure as fatal to British interests ; the latter indignantly rejected for Ireland, a boon coupled with a condition for the surrender of her legislative independence : but in correct views of political economy the advantage throughout this discussion was greatly on the side of the minister ; in favor of whose views Mr. Jenkinson particularly distinguished himself, incidentally advancing several of those liberal principles of trade, which have since been more fully developed and acted on by practical statesmen. Finally, after an obstinate contest, the resolutions all passed the house of commons, and on the thirtieth of May were carried up to the lords. Here they again afforded a subject for long and laborious investigation ; in the course of which, lords Stormont and Loughborough strenuously exerted themselves on the side of opposition. Various amendments, not very important in their nature, were offered and received by the house ; and the resolutions were returned to the commons on the 19th of July. After fresh and vehement debates, the amendments were accepted ; and on the 29th an address was presented to the king by both houses, acquainting his majesty with the steps taken in this affair ; adding, ' that it remained for the parliament of Ireland to judge of the conditions according to their wisdom and discretion, as well as of all other parts of the settlement proposed to be established by mutual consent.' On the second of August Mr. Pitt introduced a bill, founded on the above

resolutions, which was ordered to be printed : the house then adjourned to the twenty-seventh of October ; by which time it was hoped that the Irish parliament would have come to a conclusion on this important subject.

All, however, who entertained such hopes were destined to be disappointed : so strong a prejudice had been excited in Ireland, by party spirit and the arts of designing men, against the additions and alterations introduced into Mr. Pitt's plan ; that a powerful opposition was arrayed against it even before the meeting of parliament. The provision respecting the navigation laws was considered as an infringement on the legislative independence of Ireland ; and the appropriation of the surplus of hereditary revenue, with the prohibition of trade to the East Indies, was reprobated as reducing the country to little less than a state of slavery. Unfortunately, the Irish at this time were taught to view every thing which originated in England with jealousy and mistrust, as concealing hostile intentions under the guise of friendship : besides, there always existed in Ireland a large body of men, who, from various causes, but chiefly from hostility to the protestant ascendancy, were anxious to produce a separation of the two kingdoms ; and who never failed to encourage and foment any discontent which might arise with respect to the conduct of Great Britain.⁵

On the twelfth of August, Mr. Orde introduced a bill into the Irish house of commons, similar to that which Mr. Pitt had carried through the British parliament : but the eloquence of the two great rival orators, Grattan and Flood, was arrayed against it, and the influence of the country gentlemen brought to bear on what they were led to consider an oppressive measure. In a speech of great vigor and brilliancy, Grattan observed, that this was called a system of concession and compensation : ' but,' said he, ' the people of Ireland obtained, without compensation, a colonial trade, a free trade, the government of their army, the extinction of the unconstitutional powers of the council, the restoration of the judicature of their lords, and finally the independence of their legislature. Let them now see what they obtain by compensation : a covenant not to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and the straits of Magellan ; a covenant not to take foreign plantation produce, nor American produce, but as Great Britain shall permit ; a covenant never to protect their own manufactures, never to guard the *primum* of those manufactures. Surely some god presided

⁵ Tomline, vol. ii. p. 91.

over the welfare of Ireland, who made it wisdom to fulfil their duty, and who annexed the penalties of folly as well as infamy to the surrender of their privileges.'

The feelings of the Irish legislators corresponded with those of the people; and scarcely could the great and acknowledged talents of Mr. Fitzgibbon⁶ procure attention to his vindication of this important measure. He concluded an able speech on the subject, by remarking, 'that whatever might have been intimated concerning the possibility of Ireland standing alone, he was convinced, that, situated as she was in the neighborhood of powerful popish countries, with a majority of her people of the popish religion; she could not exist one hour as a protestant state, if the protection of England were withdrawn.' After a vehement debate, the house divided at nine in the morning, on the motion of Mr. Orde; ayes 127, noes 108. Such a division, in the first stage of the business, was equivalent to a defeat; and a few days afterwards, when the secretary moved the first reading and printing of the bill, he declared that he did not intend to proceed any farther with it in the present session.

The failure of this plan was a severe mortification to Mr. Pitt, who had labored unremittingly for nearly twelve months, to make it as perfect as its complicated nature would allow. Ireland, by her acceptance of it, might have averted many of those evils which she subsequently endured; for being in itself, as Mr. Grattan called it, 'an incipient and creeping union,' it would have prepared the way less violently for the completion of that great measure, sparing at least the corruption which characterised its preliminary stages: but the pride of Irish independence took alarm; and the British minister prudently yielded to the present clamor, looking forward with great confidence to a change of sentiment at no very distant period.

During the progress of this unsuccessful attempt at establishing a commercial intercourse, the volunteers had been exerting all their influence to excite in the nation a spirit of hostility towards Great Britain: a reform in parliament was their professed object; and for this purpose they had recourse to a most unconstitutional and dangerous expedient. On the seventh of June, 1784, they called a general meeting of the citizens of Dublin, at which a variety of resolutions were passed; among others, that the people had an unalienable right to correct any abuses which had crept into the representative system; and that the present house of commons was

⁶ Afterwards lord Clare.

notoriously venal and corrupt: it was also agreed to circulate an address, exciting the great body of the people to a zealous co-operation in the work of reform, and recommending that the Roman catholics should be admitted to the elective franchise: farther, they agreed to send a petition to his majesty, praying for a dissolution of the present parliament; and, in accordance with these views, they proposed, 'that five persons should be elected from each county, city, and large town, to meet at Dublin on the twenty-fifth of October, in national congress.' Having applied to the duke of Rutland to convey their petition to the king, his excellency informed them, that although he should think it his duty to forward it as desired, he should feel obliged to accompany it with strong expressions of his disapprobation, as containing unjust and indecorous reflections on the laws and parliament of Ireland, and tending to foment fatal dissensions among the people. A petition of the same character, sent by the inhabitants of Belfast to Mr. Pitt, met with a similar rebuke. In the mean time, the sheriffs of the city of Dublin had by public advertisement summoned a meeting of the citizens for the twentieth of September, to elect five delegates to the general congress; but being apprised by the attorney-general of the illegality of such conduct, they dissolved the assembly without proceeding to an election; and their successors having declined to summon another for the same purpose, it took place on the eleventh of October without their authority. This meeting passed some very strong resolutions declaratory of their right to assemble for the redress of grievances, and announcing their determination to protect by every effort those of their countrymen who might become victims of ministerial persecution, for supporting by constitutional means the privileges of the nation: on the other hand, a meeting of the lord mayor, sheriffs, and freemen was held on the sixteenth, which voted an address to the lord-lieutenant, expressing extreme grief for the violence which had long reigned among the people, and gratitude for the exertions that had been used to suppress those disorders by which the kingdom was disgraced. Requesting his excellency's good offices to procure for them a more equal representation in parliament, as well as the advantages of an equitable and permanent commercial intercourse; they professed unshaken attachment to the principles of the constitution; and engaged to protect, by every constitutional method, the protestant establishment against any attacks by which it might be assailed. A few months afterwards they

voted an equally loyal address to the king, which was signed by 21 peers and 1121 commoners.

In the mean time, the attorney-general entered a prosecution by attachment against Mr. Reilly, high sheriff of the county of Dublin, who had called and presided at a meeting of freeholders for the election of delegates; and the court of king's bench subjected him to a fine of five marks, with a week's imprisonment: other magistrates guilty of the same offence were similarly punished; as also were the printers and publishers of newspapers, in which the illegal resolutions were inserted. The congress met on the twenty-fifth of October; but very few delegates being present, they sat only three days; and then, after passing some resolutions, adjourned to the thirtieth of January, 1785; on which day about two hundred attended the meeting: these, after sitting till the fourth of February, adjourned to the twentieth of April, on which day they declared their meeting to be final. Having passed several resolutions respecting a more equal representation in parliament, and another application to the house of commons; they published a brief address to the Irish people, as their last act; and with this meeting expired the influence of the volunteers. The difference of opinion which had arisen among them, relative to the important point of admitting Roman catholics to the right of suffrage, created a disunion; and when, in an address to their general, the earl of Charlemont, they intimated that it was expedient to invite that body of religionists to assist them in the attainment of their grand object, a reformation of the house of commons;—that nobleman declared his aversion to connect the cause of reform with that of the papists. On the twelfth of May, a bill introduced by Mr. Flood for a parliamentary reform was rejected, on the second reading, by 112 votes to 60; and thus ended the attempts in Ireland to effect it for the present; though there remained a discontented and turbulent spirit in the country, which soon broke out into disorders of a more dangerous character.

Some occurrences took place this year on the continent, which led to important results. The emperor Joseph, who often busied himself with projects inconsistent with each other, and which he rarely put into execution; had last year formed a plan to exchange the sovereignty of the Low Countries for the electorate of Bavaria;—a most desirable acquisition for the aggrandisement of Austria. This scheme being made known to the duke of Deux Ponts, who was presumptive heir to the

Bavarian dominions, he disclosed it to the king of Prussia, and claimed his interposition as guarantee of the treaty of Teschen. Frederic, now on the very verge of the grave, again saw his system endangered, but he did not again unsheathe the sword : by his wise and prudent counsels, he formed, in union with his successor, a strong confederation to preserve the German constitution, of which Prussia was the centre. Conquering his long-cherished prejudices, the old warrior made advances to England ; and the elector of Hanover joined the league, to which Saxony had already acceded, as well as Brunswick ; and which was afterwards augmented by Mentz, Hesse Cassel, Mecklenburg, Anhalt, and other states. Joseph, greatly incensed by this opposition, made vigorous preparations for war, but prudently determined to proceed no farther in the meditated exchange ; and the threatened storm insensibly died away.

While the emperor's attention was thus drawn towards Germany, the Dutch were intent on warding off the blow which he meditated against them : their chief reliance was on the court of Versailles, which, at the instigation of the count de Vergennes, had sent the marshal de Maillebois to take the command of their forces : negociations were carried on, during the summer, for an accommodation under the mediation of France ; and preliminary articles of peace were signed at Paris, in September, after the deputies of the States-General had humbly apologised for the insult which had been offered to the emperor's flag, when he attempted to force the navigation of the Scheldt. A definitive treaty was concluded in November ; by the articles of which, his sovereignty over that river, from Antwerp to the limits of Saftingen in Dutch Flanders, was recognised ; but from that point to the sea, it was to remain with the States ; and thus the free navigation to Antwerp was frustrated : the emperor also renounced his claims on Maestricht, on payment of a large sum of money by Holland.

A treaty of alliance between the Dutch republic and the king of France followed this peace : its stipulations were calculated to draw as close as possible the bonds of amity and mutual defence ; while in commercial affairs each was to be treated by the other as the most favored nation. The French having now gained a strong influence in the Dutch counsels ; that party, which had always opposed the high authority vested in the stadtholder, was urged to pursue with vigor their schemes to abolish his office, or at least to abridge its prerogatives ; and

the bodies of volunteers, to which late dissensions and dangers had given rise, stirred up a democratic spirit, which arraigned the authority both of the aristocracy and of the stadtholder. A riot which occurred at the Hague, in consequence of some volunteers appearing with their badges in that town, which was zealously devoted to the house of Orange, gave a pretext to the acting committee of the States for depriving the prince of his government of the Hague, and of his body-guard; in consequence of which affront, he retired to his own city of Breda, and sent his family to West Friesland: the king of Prussia remonstrated with the States on this treatment of his nephew; but was so little regarded, that they issued an order, transferring the military honors usually paid to the stadtholder to their own president and pensionary: they also absolved the troops from the obligation of their oath to the prince, and enjoined a new one, to be taken in the name of the States alone. Such was the prospect of affairs in this part of the continent at the close of the year. The British parliament, which had been adjourned to the twenty-seventh of October, did not re-assemble, but was prorogued by royal proclamation.

END OF VOL. XVI.

PRINTED BY A. J. VALPY,
RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

First of July, (in Four Volumes, 5s. each,)

VOL. III. OF THE POETICAL WORKS OF

ALEXANDER POPE;

WITH

A LIFE, NOTES, AND CRITICAL NOTICES ON
EACH POEM,

BY THE REV. G. CROLY, LL. D.

RECTOR OF ST. STEPHEN, WALBROOK.

The object of the publisher is to present the British nation with the writings of this great ornament of literature in a complete, correct, and UNIVERSALLY ACCESSIBLE form, corresponding with the popular illustrated editions of Shakespeare, Byron, Scott, &c.

The historical and landscape embellishments, for which ORIGINAL DRAWINGS have been expressly made, will be executed in the best style of line-engraving on steel; and no effort will be spared to render the edition worthy of the "great moral poet of all times, of all climes, of all feelings, and of all stages of existence."

BYRON ON POPE.

"Neither time, nor distance, nor grief, nor age, can ever diminish my veneration for him, who is the great moral poet of all times, of all climes, of all feelings, and of all stages of existence. The delight of my boyhood, the study of my manhood, perhaps—if allowed me to attain it—he may be the consolation of my age. His poetry is the Book of Life. A thousand years will roll away before such another can be hoped for in literature."

JOHNSON ON POPE.

"It is surely superfluous to answer the question that has once been asked, Whether Pope was a poet? otherwise than by asking in return, If Pope be not a poet, where is poetry to be found? Let us look round on the present time, and back on the past; let us inquire to whom the voice of mankind has decreed the wreath of poetry; let their productions be ex-

amined, and their claims stated, and the pretensions of Pope will be no more disputed. A thousand years may elapse before there shall appear another man with his power of versification."

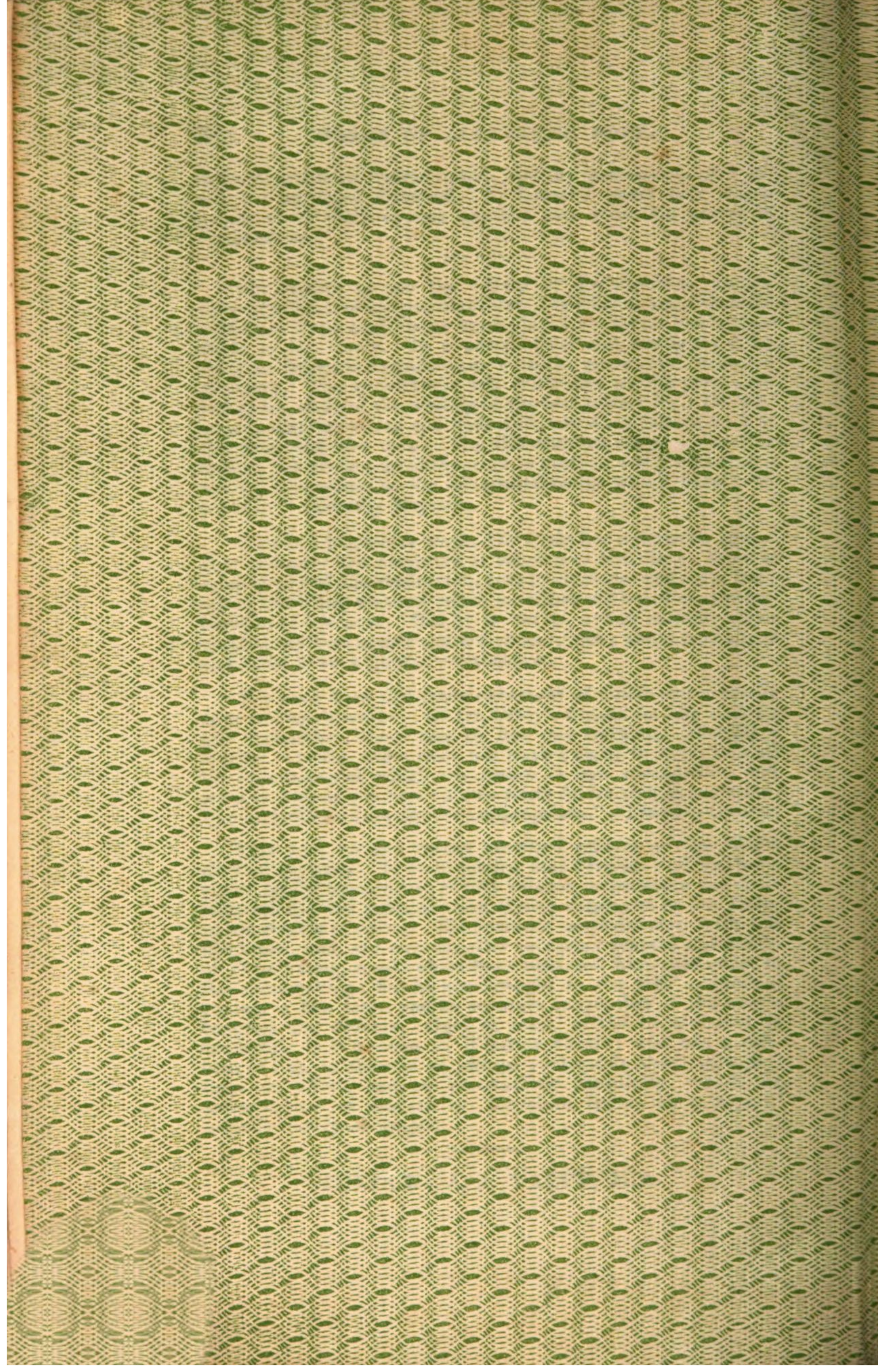
"We rejoice to see the 'Bard of Twickenham' in his present attractive and popular form. We do not know that the editing of Pope could have been placed in better hands than those of Dr. Croly. To a perspicuous and manly style, he adds an intimate acquaintance with the genius and literature of poetry. The annotations and criticisms on the poems are judicious, and aid the reading of the text materially. The memoir is discriminative and impartial, and does justice both to the poet and the man. The illustrations are of a superior order: the getting-up of the work is perfect, and it will form a worthy companion to the illustrated series which have preceded it."—*Monthly Magazine*.

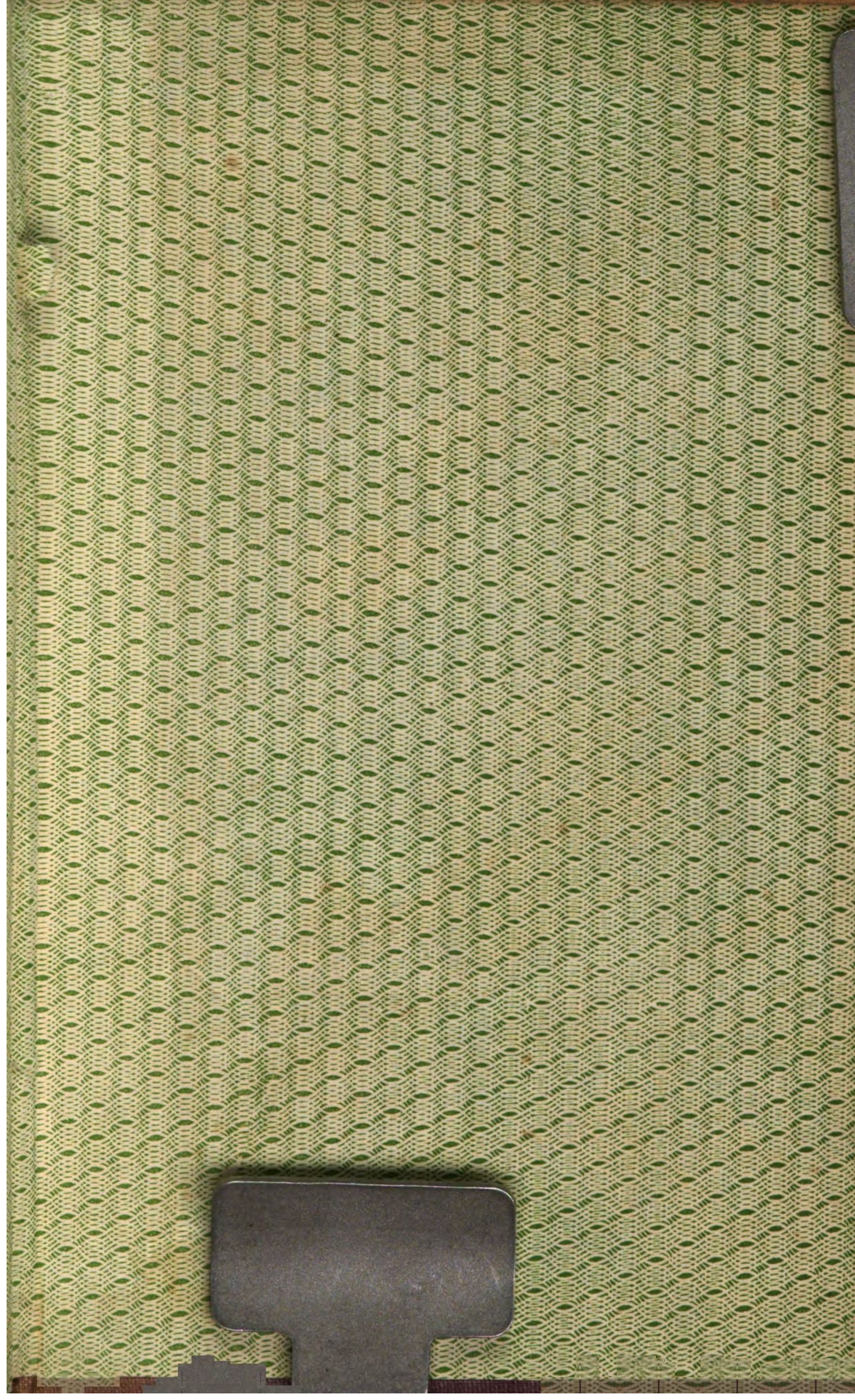
"This is a handsome work. Dr. Croly has written an agreeable memoir: the narrative is consistent and clear; there is some force and discrimination, both in character and criticism; nor is there any want of relish for either the beauties or peculiarities of the poet. But it is not by a new memoir alone that this edition courts our notice as critics; there are notices and notes to each poem."—*Athenæum*.

"We have here the commencement of a neat and valuable copy of Pope's works. Of Dr. Croly's fitness for the task he has undertaken there can be but one opinion. Himself a scholar, a critic, and a poet, we have a right to anticipate all the illustration of which the author is now susceptible; and what is done in the first volume fairly fulfils this expectation. The embellishments are very appropriate."—*Literary Gazette*.

'This will be the future standard edition of the 'Bard of Twickenham.' It is beautiful and correct, and we have again, on the appearance of this volume, to reiterate our commendation of the judgment and ability displayed by Dr. Croly in his station of editor. His intimate acquaintance with the literature, and, we may say, the necessary scandal and gossip of Pope's time, would alone have rendered him competent to the undertaking; but he has brought to the task a poetical genius, a fine taste, and an accurate conception of the poet's beauties and defects. One, at least, of the illustrations is beautiful; it is a scene in Windsor Forest; and has a softness of tint, an absence of abrupt contrast in shading, a picturesque effect, and an imaginative simplicity, which the extravagance of modern art too often leaves us to regret.'—*Bell's Weekly Messenger*.

LONDON: A. J. VALPY, M.A.





Hume, David, / Smollett, Tobias George, / Hughes, Thomas S.

History of England

Bd.: 16

London 1835

Brit. 303 f-16

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10280332-0